

THE
MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP DE COMINES:

Containing the HISTORY of
LEWIS XI. and CHARLES VIII.
of FRANCE;

AND OF
CHARLES the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy*;

To which Princes he was Secretary :

As also the HISTORY of
EDWARD IV. and HENRY VII.
of ENGLAND.

Including that of EUROPE for almost half
the Fifteenth Century :

With a SUPPLEMENT, as also several *Original*
Treaties, Notes and Observations.

AND LASTLY,
The Secret History of Lewis XI. out of a Book call'd
The Scandalous Chronicle : And the Life of the
Author prefix'd to the whole, with Notes
upon it, by the Famous SLEIDAN.

Faithfully Translated from the late Edition of Monsieur
GODEFROY, Historiographer Royal of *France*.

To which are added REMARKS on all the Occurrences
relating to ENGLAND.

By Mr. UVEDALE.

VOL. II.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Brotherton and F. Fayram in Cornhill; A. Bettesworth
in Pater-noster-Row, and J. Pemberton in Fleet-street, 1723.

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OF

L E W I S XI.

KING OF FRANCE.

Otherwise called, The

SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE

GIVING

An Historical and Chronological Account
of several remarkable Accidents and Ad-
ventures that happened in FRANCE
and other neighbouring STATES and
Kingdoms, from the Year 1400 to 1547
inclusively.

Written by one JOHN DE TROYES
Regent of the Low-lands in France.

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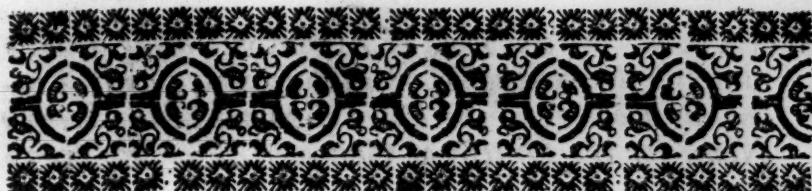
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THE





THE
MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP de COMINES,
LORD OF
ARGENTON.
CONTAINING
The Principal Actions and Exploits
OF
LEWIS XI. *King of France.*

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Delivering up the Dutchy of Burgundy
to the King.*



UT to return to my History, and the Continuation of these *Memoirs*, which at your Lordship's Request my good Lord Archbishop of *Vienne*, I first began. Whilst the King was busy in subduing the Towns and Places above-mention'd in the Marches of *Picardy*, his Army in *Burgundy*, was, to all outward Appearance,

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commanded by the Prince of (a) *Orange*, (who is still living) a Subject and Native of the Province of *Burgundy*, but lately disgusted, and a second time become an Enemy to Duke *Charles*, so that the King employed this Prince of *Orange* as a Person who had great Interest, both in the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*, and was well belov'd, and nobly born; but the (b) Lord *de Craon* was the King's Lieutenant, and had really the Command of the Army, for the King's greatest Confidence was reposed in him, and not without Reason; for he was a Person of great Wisdom and Penetration, and faithful to his Master, but a little too much given to Avarice. When the Lord *de Craon* drew near *Burgundy*, he sent the Prince of *Orange* and others before to *Dijon*, to reason the Case with them, and demand their Obedience to the King. The Commissioners manag'd their Affairs so dexterously, especially by the Prince of *Orange*'s Assistance, that not only *Dijon*, and all the rest of the Towns in the Dutchy, but several also in the County of *Burgundy* revolted, only *Auf-sone*, and some few other Castles remain'd firm and stedfast to the young Princess, Duke *Charles*'s Daughter. The Prince of *Orange* was promis'd a large Revenue, besides all the Towns in the

(a) *John de Chalon*, the second of that Name, Prince of *Orange*. In the Year 1475. the 8th of *September*, he did Homage to *Lewis XI.* for the said Principality, as his Father *William* had done; and the same Day and Year, he did Homage for certain Lands lying in *Dauphiné*, which the *Dauphin* held from the King. Afterwards there was an Arrest of *Dauphiné* issued out against him, by which Decree, the said Principality was forfeited, and annexed to the *Dauphiné*'s Patrimony for ever, because the said *John* had committed Felony against the King. See *P. Matthieu's History of Lewis XI. Book xi. p. 750.*

(b) *George de la Tremoville*, Lord of *Jonville*, Baron of *Craon*, and chief Chamberlain to the King.

County



County of *Burgundy*, which were formerly in the Possession of his (c) Grandfather the Prince of *Orange*, but now in Dispute, by reason of a Claim to them, put in by his (d) Uncles the Lords of *Chasteau Guyon*. The Prince of *Orange* complain'd, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy* had been partial to these Lords in their Claim, which having been solemnly argued before him, the Duke, in the midst of the whole Court, gave Judgment against him, much to the Prejudice of the Prince, at least as he pretended; upon which the Prince deserted the Duke's Service, and went over to the King. But notwithstanding all the fair Promises above-mentioned, when the Lord *de Craon* was in Possession of all the Towns and Castles, and other Places that the Prince pretended to, in right of his Grandfather, he would deliver none of them to the Prince, for all the Sollicitation he could make. The King was sensible of the Injury that was done the Prince of *Orange*, and wrote to the Lord *de Craon* about it, who kept the whole Country in Awe, but his Majesty did not believe that the Prince, had either Courage or Interest enough to stir 'em up to a Rebellion, as he did afterwards, at least a great Part; but I shall leave that for the present, and discourse of something more material in this Place.

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The Reason of the Prince of Orange's quitting the Duke of Burgundy's Service.

(c) *Lewis de Chalon*, surnam'd the Good, who by his first Wife *Joan de Montbeliard*, had one *William*, the Father of *John*.

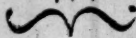
(d) *Lewis* and *Hugh de Chalons*, Lords of *Chasteau Guyon*, Children of the said *Lewis de Chalon*, by his second Wife, *Eleanor d'Armaignac*.

C H A P. II.

Of the King of France's Wheedling the English after the Duke of Burgundy's Death, for fear they should have interrupted him in the Conquest of the Territories belonging to the said Duke.

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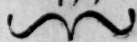
Edward
a brave
Soldier,
but a weak
Politician.

HEY, who shall give themselves the Trouble of reading these Memoirs hereafter, and have a better Knowledge of the Affairs of this Kingdom and its neighbouring States, than perhaps I have, may wonder, that since the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death to this Time, (which is little less than a Year) I have not mention'd a Word of the *English*, nor of their suffering the King to seize upon those Towns, which were near them, as *Arras*, *Bologne*, *Hesdin*, besides several Castles, and lie so many Days before *St. Omers*; the Reason of it was, because in Cunning and Artifice, our King was much superior to King *Edward*, who was indeed a brave Prince, had won eight or nine Battles in *England*, in which he had been always present himself, and fought constantly on Foot, which redounded much to his Honour; but these were at several times, and depended not much upon his Understanding; for upon the Success of one Battle, he was absolute Master of Course, till another Rebellion or Commotion disturbed him. In *England*, when any Disputes arise, and proceed to a War, the Controversy is generally decided in eight or ten Days, and one Party or other gains the Victory; but with us on this side of the Water, Affairs are manag'd quite otherwise,

therwise, our Expeditions are to be carried on another Way. The King was obliged to keep a watchful Eye upon his Neighbours, (as well as the rest of his Kingdom) and particularly upon the King of *England* above all, who was to be satisfied at any rate, and cajol'd and amus'd with Ambassadors, Promises, and Presents, lest he should attempt something that might interrupt his Designs; for our Master was sensible, that both the Nobility, Commons and Clergy of *England*, were always ready to enter upon a War with *France*, being incited thereunto not only upon the Account of an old Title, but the Desire of Gain; for it pleas'd God, to permit their Predecessors, to obtain several memorable Battles in this Nation, and to continue in the Possession of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, for the space of 350 Years, before *Charles* the VII. gave them the first Blow; during which Time, they have carried over a considerable Booty into *England*, not only in Plunder, which they had taken in the several Towns, but in the Richness and Quality of their Prisoners; who were many of them great Princes and Lords, that paid them vast Ransoms for their Liberty, so that every *Englishman* since, thought to do the same thing, and return home laden with Spoils. But this was not to be look'd for in our King's Days; for he would never venture the whole Kingdom upon the doubtful Issue of a Battle, nor do any thing so rashly as to dismount himself, and all his Nobility to fight the *English* on Foot, as was done at the Battle of *Agincourt*: And if he had been reduc'd to that Extremity, he would certainly have manag'd his Affairs with more Prudence and Caution, as may be presum'd from the Manner of his Conduct, when King *Edward* was in *France*. The King found himself under

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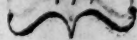
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1477.

*A Sketch
of French
Politicks.*

an absolute Necessity to caress and wheedle the King of *England*, and the rest of his Neighbours, whom he perceiv'd inclinable to Peace, in hopes of his Money ; and therefore his Pension of fifty Thousand Crowns was punctually paid at *London*, and allow'd it to be call'd Tribute by the *English* : Besides this Pension, he was obliged to pay seventy five Thousand Crowns to King *Edward* before his Departure from *France*, and this the *English* called a Fine for that Kingdom : He also distributed sixteen Thousand more, among the King of *England's* Officers, that were about his Person ; particularly to the Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, who is now Chancellor, the High Chamberlain the Lord *Hastings*, a Man of Honour and Prudence, and of great Authority with his Master, and he deserv'd it, upon the Account of the faithful Service he had done him) Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, the Lord *Howard*, (who afterwards espous'd King *Richard's* Interest, and was created Duke of *Norfolk*) the Lord *Cheney*, Master of the Horse, Mr. *Challenger*, and a (e) Marquis, who was the Queen of *England's* Son, by her first Husband. Besides these great Presents, he was also very generous to Ambassadors, and whomsoever was sent to him from the *English* Court, though their Messages were never so harsh and displeasing ; so by this Means, he dispatch'd them always with such fair Words, and large Presents, that most of them went away very well satisfied ; and tho' they were certainly assur'd, (at least some of them) that what he did, was only to gain Time to effect and carry on his Designs, yet their pri-

(e) This was *Thomas Gray*, the first Marquis *Dorset* of that Name, and the Son of Sir *John Gray*, of *Grooby*, slain fighting against the *Turks*, at the Battle of *St. Albans*.



vate Interest prevail'd with them to wink at it, tho' highly to the Detriment and Disadvantage of the publick Affairs.

To all those Persons of Quality above-mention'd, the King gave considerable Presents, besides their Pensions. To the Lord *Howard*, (besides his Pension) he gave to my certain Knowledge, in less than two Years time, in Money and Plate, above 24000 Crowns; to the Lord *Hastings*, who was King *Edward's* Chamberlain, he gave at one time above 1000 Marks in Plate, and all the Acquittances of every *Englishman* of Quality except the Lord *Hastings*, are still to be seen in the Chamber of Accounts, at *Paris*. This Lord *Hastings* was at that time High Chamberlain of *England*, (an Office of great Reputation, and executed singly by one Man.) It was with great Difficulty and Sollicitation, that he was made one of the King's Pensioners: At the time when I was in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Service, I had brought him over to his Interest, and he allowed him a Pension of a Thousand Crowns a Year. Upon my telling our King what I had done, he employ'd me to try what I could do to bring him over to his Interest, for he had been his particular Enemy in the Duke of *Burgundy's* time; was since a Favourer of the young Princess of *Burgundy*, and was once like to have prevailed with the King of *England* to cross the Seas once more to assist the Princess: I began our Amity by Letters; the King allow'd him a Pension of 2000 Crowns *per Annum*, (which was double to what had been paid him by the Duke) and sent one of the Stewards of his House, call'd *Peter Cleret*, with it; giving him express Order to take his Receipt, that hereafter it might appear upon Record, that the Lord Chamberlain, Chancellor, Admiral, Master of the Horse, and

A. D. 1477. several other great Lords of *England*, were at the same Time Pensioners to the King of *France*. This *Peter Cleret* was a cunning Man, was privately admitted to the Lord Chamberlain, at his House in *London*, and having delivered his Complements from the King, presented his two thousand Crowns in Gold, (for to foreign Lords of great Quality, the King never gave any thing else.) The Chamberlain having received the Gold, *Peter Cleret* desir'd his Lordship would be pleas'd to give him a Receipt for it; the Lord Chamberlain scrupling to do it, he repeated his Request, and entreated him that he would give him only three Lines under his Hand, directed to the King his Master, lest his Majesty should think he had imbezled it himself, for he was of a very suspicious Temper. The Lord Chamberlain seeing he persisted (tho' his Demand was but reasonable) replied, *Monsieur Cleret, What you desire is not unreasonable, but this Present proceeds from your Master's Generosity, not any Request of mine; if you have a mind I should receive it, you may put it into my Sleeve, but neither Letter nor Acquittance you are like to have of me; for to be free with you, Monsieur Peter, it shall never be said for me, that the High Chamberlain of England was Pensioner to the King of France, nor shall my Hand be ever produc'd in his Chamber of Accounts.* *Cleret* urg'd the Matter no farther, but left the Money and return'd his Answer to the King, who was highly displeas'd at *Cleret's* not bringing his Receipt, but he commended and valued the Lord Chamberlain above all the King of *England's* Ministers ever after, paid him his Pension constantly, and never ask'd for his Receipt.

In this Posture were Affairs between the King of *England* and our Master: However, the King of *England* was earnestly solicited to assist the young



young Princess, and the King sent several Embassies to our Master, to press him either for a Peace, or a Cessation of Arms : For some of the Privy Council, and the Parliament, (which is of the same Nature of our Convention of the three Estates, compos'd of several Persons of Wisdom and Penetration, who came out of the Country, and were not Pensioners of *France* as the rest were) pressed hard, that the King of *England* would interpose vigorously for the Princess of *Burgundy* ; urging, that we did but dissemble with them, and amuse them with Hopes of this Marriage, as it very plainly appear'd : For at the Treaty at *Piquigny* the Kings had mutually sworn, that within the space of a Year, the King of *England's* Daughter should be sent for, and delivered into the Hands of the King of *France's* Ambassador : And that tho' the King of *France* had permitted her to be styl'd *Dauphiness*, yet the Time was elapsed, and no Lady was sent for. But all the Arguments they made use of, could not prevail with King *Edward*, and for several Reasons. King *Edward* was a voluptuous Prince, wholly addicted to his Pleasures and Ease ; and having been, in his former Expeditions, reduc'd to great Straits and Necessities, he had no Mind to involve himself in a new War on this side the Water : The Fifty Thousand Crowns being also punctually paid him in the Tower, softned his Heart, and hinder'd him from concerning himself in that Affair. Besides, his Ambassadors were always brib'd, entertain'd so nobly, and left the *French* Court so well satisfied, that no Exceptions could be taken ; tho' the King's Answers were always uncertain, in order to gain Time ; assuring them still, that in a few Days he would send a considerable Embassy of his own, which would

A. D. would satisfy their Master in every Point.

1477.

King Edward
was am-
mused by
Lewis XI.
with hopes
of a Mar-
riage be-
tween the
Dauphin
and the
Lady Eli-
beth.

As soon as the King of *England's* Ambassadors were returned, about three Weeks or a Month after, sometimes more, sometimes less, (which in such Cases is a great Matter) the King our Master would send his; but always new Persons, and such as had not been employed in any Overture with the *English* before, to the End, that if any thing had been promised by their Predecessors, but not afterwards perform'd, they might pretend Ignorance, and not be oblig'd to give them an Answer. The Ambassadors who were sent into *England*, used their utmost Endeavours to possess King *Edward* of the good Inclinations of the King of *France*, and they manag'd that Affair so cunningly, that he fate still, and never endeavoured to give the least Assistance to the Princess of *Burgundy*: For indeed, both the King and the Queen of *England* were so ambitious of the Match with their Daughter, that upon that Account, not to mention several others, the King was willing to wink at these Proceedings; and take no Notice of the Remonstrance that was made him by several of his Privy Council, and the Commons assembled in Parliament, who represented to him, how prejudicial it would be to the Interest of the whole Nation. Besides, the Queen herself was afraid the Marriage should be broken off, which began already to be laugh'd at in *England*, especially by such as were desirous of War. But to clear up this Matter a little more, the King our Master never designed to consummate this Marriage, by reason of the disproportion in their Years; for the Young (f) Lady,

(f) Her Name was *Elizabeth*, who afterwards was married to *Henry VII.* by which Match the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were united.

who

who is now Queen of *England*, was much older than the *Dauphin*, who is now King of *France* (g). So that a Month or two were spent in sending Ambassadors from one Court to another, and such Artifices and Amusements were made use of purely to gain time, and hinder the *English* from an Opportunity of declaring War against him: For certainly had it not been in hopes of this Marriage, the King of *England* would never so tamely have suffer'd our King to have taken so many Towns as it were under his Nose, without endeavouring to have defended them; and had he appeared at first for the young Princess of *Burgundy*, our King being so fearful of bringing any thing to a hazard, would not have encroached so far upon the Dominions of the House of *Burgundy*, nor have weaken'd it so much. My Design in writing of these Transactions, is, to shew the Method and Conduct of all Human Affairs, by the reading of which, such Persons as are employ'd in the Negotiation of great matters, may be instructed how to manage their Administrations; for tho' their Judgment may be great, yet a little Advertisment sometimes does no harm. This I have been assured of, that if the Princess of *Burgundy* would have been perswaded to have marry'd Earl *Rivers*, the Queen of *England*'s Brother, they would have furnish'd her with a considerable Number of Troops; but that Marriage was look'd upon to be very unequal, for he was but an (h) Earl of a slender Estate, and she the greatest Fortune of her Time. Many Overtures and

A. D.

1477.

(g) *Charles VIII.*

(h) This was *Anthony Woodville*, Earl *Rivers*, not of ancient Nobility, since his Father *Richard Woodville* was but a Commoner, till made Earl *Rivers* by King *Edward*.

A. D. 1477. Bargains were made between the Kings of *England* and *France*; among the rest the King of *France* offered, that if he would join with him, and come over in Person, and invade the *Low-Countries*, which belong'd to the Princes of *Burgundy*, his Majesty would consent that the King of *England* should have all (i) *Flanders* for his share, and hold it without Homage, and the Province of *Brabant* besides, in which the King of *France* would engage to reduce four of the chief Towns at his own Expence, and afterwards deliver 'em up to the King of *England*. Besides, he proffered (to lessen his Charge in the War) to pay Ten Thousand of the King of *England's* Troops for four Months together; to provide him a large Train of Artillery, Horses, and Carriages to convey them, upon condition, the King of *England* would invade *Flanders*, whilst he made War upon 'em in another Place. The King of *England's* Answer was, that the Towns in *Flanders* were large, and not easy to be kept when they were taken, and *Brabant* was the same; besides, the *English* had no great Inclination to undertake that War, upon account of the Commerce that was betwixt them; but since the King was so generously inclin'd, as to allow him a share in his Conquests, he desired he would give such Places as he had conquered already in *Picardy*, as *Bologne*, and others; upon surrendring up of which, he would be ready to declare on his side, and (if he would engage to pay it) send an Army to his Assistance. This was a Wise and Politick Answer.

Lewis of-
fers Ed-
ward IV.
to share
the Low-
Countries
between
'em

(i) The Province of *Flanders*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Princess of Burgundy, and Maximilian then Duke of Austria, and Emperor since.



AFTER this manner (as I said before)

A. D.

1477.

Transactions were managed between the two *Kings*, ours designing nothing but to gain Time, by which means the Princess of *Burgundy's* Affairs began visibly to decay; for of those few Soldiers that remain'd after her Father's Death, several revolted from her to the King, especially after the Lord *des Cordes* had quitted her Service, and carried several others along with him. Some were forced to leave her, because their Estates or Abodes lay very near, or were within the Towns which had declared for the King: Others in hopes of Preferment; for in that respect no Prince was so noble and generous to his Servants as he. Several Commotions and Parties discover'd themselves daily in the great Towns, and particularly in *Ghent*, of which his Majesty was still jealous, as you have already heard. Several Husbands were propos'd to her, and every Body was of opinion, there was a necessity of her marrying, to defend those Territories that she had left, or (by marrying the *Dauphin*) to recover what she had lost, and settle all in a General Peace. Several were entirely for this Match, and her self as earnest for it as any Body, especially before the Letters presented by the Lord *d'Hymberecourt* and the Chancellor to the King were betray'd to the Ambassadors from *Ghent*. Some opposed that, and urged the Disproportion of their Age, the *Dau-*
phin

A. D. 1477. *phin* being but Nine Years old, and besides engaged to the King of *England's* Daughter; and these were mighty Friends to the Duke of *Cleves*. Others recommended *Maximilian* the Emperor's Son, and at present King of the *Romans*. The Princess her self had conceiv'd an extream Hatred against the King, ever since he discover'd and deliver'd the Letters; for she looked upon him as the Occasion of the Death of her two principal Ministers of State, and of the Dishonour and Surprize that was put upon her, when the Letters were delivered to her publicly in the Council, as you have heard before. Besides, it was that, which gave the *Gantois* a Pretence and Confidence to banish so many of her Servants, to remove her Mother-in-law and the Lord *de Ravestien* from about her, and put her Maids of Honour into such a Consternation, that not one of them durst open a Letter without first shewing it to the *Gantois*, nor speak any thing to their Mistress, but in their Hearing. This Disgust made the Princess carry her self very shy and strange to the (k) Bishop of *Liege*, who was of the House of *Bourbon*, and a great Promoter of this Match with the *Dauphin*, which certainly would have been very honourable and advantageous for the Princess, had it not been for the extream Youth of the *Dauphin*; but the Bishop was very indifferent in the matter, remov'd to *Leige*, and that Affair was laid wholly aside. Without dispute it must have been a very difficult matter to have manag'd that Negotiation to the satisfaction of both Parties; and I am of opinion, whoever had undertaken it, would have gained

(k) *Lewis de Bourbon*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* and *Agnes* of *Burgundy*.

A. D.

1477.

but little Credit by it in the end. However (as I have been inform'd) a Council was held about it, at which (l) Madam Hallewin, first Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Princess, was present, who being ask'd her Opinion about the Dauphin, reply'd, *That there was more need of a Man than a Boy; That her Mistress was capable of bearing a Child, which was what her Dominions wanted more than any thing else.* Some condemn'd the Lady for answering so abruptly, other commended her, alledging that what she spoke was purely in relation to that Marriage, and the Necessity of her Lady's Dominions; so that now the only Talk was, who should be the Person. I am verily persuaded, that if the King had been inclined to have had her marry (m) the Count d' Angoulesme, who is now living; she would have consented to it, so desirous was she to continue her Alliance with France, but God thought fit to appoint her another Husband, for Reasons unknown perhaps to us, unless it might be, that it might occasion great Wars and Confusions on both sides, which could not possibly have happen'd, had she marry'd the Count d' Angoulesme; but by this Match the Provinces of Flanders and Brabant sustained great Miseries and Afflictions. The Duke of Cleves was at the same time in Ghent with the Princess, making Friends, and trying all Arts, which he thought might contribute to the Marriage between the Princess and his Son, but she had no Inclinations to that; for the Humour of the Young Gentleman neither pleased her, nor any Person about her Court.

(l) Joan de la Clite, Lady of Comines, at that time Widow of John Lord of Hallewin, and Cousin to Philip de Comines.

(m) The Author means Charles, Father of K. Francis I.

A. D. 1477. At last a Marriage was propos'd between her; and the Emperor's Son, the present King of the Romans, of which there had formerly been some Overtures between the Emperor and Duke Charles, and it was concluded between them. The Emperor had in his custody a Letter written by the Young Lady, at her Father's Command, under her own Hand, and a Diamond Ring of considerable Value. The Design of the Letter, was to acquaint his Imperial Majesty, that in obedience to her Father's Commands, she promised to accomplish the Marriage with his Son the Duke of *Austria*, in the same Form and Manner, as her Father the Duke of *Burgundy* should think fit to prescribe.

The Emperor sent (n) Ambassadors to the Princess, who was at *Ghent*; but upon their Arrival at *Brussels*, Orders were sent to them to stop there, and Commissioners should be sent thither to receive and answer their Demands. This was only a Contrivance of the Duke of *Cleves*, who was extremely unwilling they should come to *Ghent*, and endeavoured to send them back again dissatisfied? but the Ambassadors went on, for they had Intelligence in the Princess's Court, or at least the (o) Dutchess Dowager had, who was removed from the Princess, as you have heard before, upon occasion of the Letter. This Old Lady, as I have been since

(n) These Ambassadors, according to the Memoirs of Monsieur *Oliver de la Marche*, were, the Duke of *Bavaria*, *George de Baden* Bishop of *Mets*, *George Hester* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Austria*, mention'd before, Book IV. Chap. II. and one Docter *William Mortingal*.

(o) *Margaret*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Tork*, and Sister to *Edward IV.* King of *England*, third Wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*.

inform'd,

A.D.

1477.

inform'd, advis'd them to proceed in their Journey notwithstanding these Letters; gave them Instructions how they were to behave themselves upon their Arrival at *Ghent*, and assured them that the Young Princess and the greatest part of her Court were willing enough of the Match. Upon this Information, the Ambassadors advanced, and taking no notice of the Orders which they had received, went directly for *Ghent*, at which the Duke of *Cleves* was highly offended; but he knew nothing as yet, of the Inclination of the Court-Ladies. It was resolved that the Princess should give them Audience, and after they had delivered their Embassy, let them know that they were very welcome, that she would acquaint her Council with their Desires, and order them to return her Answer; and that the Princess should not concern her self any farther about it. The Ambassadors being admitted to a publick Audience, presented their Credentials, and then deliver'd their Embassy; which was only to let her Highness know, that the Marriage had been concluded formerly between the Emperor and her Father, and that by her own Consent and Approbation, as appeared by the Letter under her own Hand, which they produced, and the Diamond Ring which had been sent as a Pledge of the said Marriage: Upon which they insisted, that the Young Princess would consummate the Marriage according to the Engagement, both of her Father and her self, and then they conjur'd her to declare before the whole Assembly, whether she wrote the Letter or not, and whether she design'd to make good her Promise? The Young Princess, without any Consideration, reply'd, that she wrote the Letter, and sent the Ring in obedience to her Father's Commands, and freely

own'd

A. D.
1477.

The covetous Temper of the Emperor Frederick III.

own'd the Contents of it. The Ambassadors express'd their humble Acknowledgments, and returned very joyfull to their Lodgings. The Duke of *Cleves* was extremely dissatisfy'd with her Answer, as being contrary to what was agreed on in Council, and upbraided the young Princess, as having acted very indiscreetly in this Affair. To which she reply'd, that it was not in her power to do any otherwise, since it was a thing agreed on long before, and she could not deny it. Having taken her Answer into Consideration, and finding that several about the Princess were of the same Opinion, he resolv'd to give over his Solicitation, and in a few Days retire into his own Country. After this manner was the Marriage concluded; and Duke *Maximilian* came to *Cologne*, where several of the Princess's Servants went to attend him, and carry him Money, with which, as I have been told, he was but slenderly furnish'd; for his Father was the nearest and most covetous Prince or Person of his Time. The Duke of *Austria* was conducted to *Ghent* with about 7 or 800 Horse in his Retinue, where the Marriage was consummated, which at first sight brought no great advantage to the Subjects of the Young Princess; for instead of supporting her, she was forced to supply him with Money. His Armies were neither strong enough, nor in a condition to face the King's; besides the Humour of the House of *Austria* was not so pleasing to the Subjects of the House of *Burgundy*, who had been bred up under rich Princes, that had good Offices and Employments to dispose of; whose Palaces were sumptuous, whose Tables were nicely served, whose Dress was magnificent, and whose Livories were noble and splendid: But the *Germans* are of a quite contrary Temper; boorish in their

Con

Conversation, and nasty in their way of living.

A. D.

1477.

It seems to me, (and that after mature Consideration with my self) that upon good and solid Advice, and not without the particular Assistance of God, that Law was made in *France*, whereby Women are excluded, and no Daughter suffer'd to inherit the Crown; to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign Nation or, Prince, which the *French* would hardly endure, or indeed any other Nation; for there is no Sovereignty whatever but at length revolves upon the Natives, as may be seen in *France*, where the *English* had the Government for four hundred Years together, and at this present have nothing left of all their Conquests in this Kingdom, but *Calais* and two trifling Castles scarce worth the keeping; the rest they parted with, with much more easy than they conquer'd it; for they lost more in one Day than they had gain'd in a Year. The same thing is observable in the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and other Provinces, where the *French* had possession for many Years together; of all which, there is now no Monument of their Power remaining, but the Sepulchres of their Fathers. And if it were possible for them to admit a foreign Prince, whose Wisdom was great, and his Retinue small, and well regulated; yet they could hardly be prevail'd with to receive him with a great Train, or suffer that he should send for great Numbers of his other Subjects, upon pretence of making War upon his Neighbours; because Animosities will certainly arise among them, by reason of their Diversity of Humours, and the Violences they will commit; for they cannot have so much Love and Affection for the Country, as they who were born in it; especially if they aspire and aim at the Offices or Employ-

A Digression concerning the Salique Law.

A. D.

1477.

How a
foreign
Prince
ought to
behave
himself in
respect of
governing
his People.

ments, which belong more properly to the Natives. So that it is very requisite for a wise Prince, upon his coming into a foreign Country, to adjust all Differences of that nature; and if he is not Master of this Virtue, (which proceeds more immediately from God than any thing else) the rest, tho' call'd Virtues, will be of no advantage to him: And if he reigns long, he and all his Subjects shall find themselves involv'd in Troubles, especially when he comes to be superannuated, and his Ministers to have no farther Hopes of prolonging his Life.

This Marriage was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, but their Affairs were not in a much better Posture; for they were both very young. Duke *Maximilian* was a Person of no great Knowledge or Penetration in any thing, both in respect of his Youth, and his being in a foreign Country: Besides, his Education had been but indifferent, and not suitable to the Management of great Affairs; nor, if it had been better, he had not a sufficient Body of Troops ready to have attempted any thing considerable: So that his poor Countries lay expos'd to the Insults of their Neighbours, and were in great Troubles, which have continued to this day, and are like to continue. For which Reasons, as I said before, 'tis a great Misfortune to any Country to entertain a foreign Sovereign; and God has been very merciful to *France*, in establishing that Law against the Inheritance of the Daughter. A private or indifferent Family may be much the better for it; but a great Kingdom like ours will always find great Inconveniences, and be much incommoded. Few Days after the Consummation of this Marriage, (if not at the very time of Treaty) the whole Country of *Artois* was lost. It will be sufficient

for me to deliver the Substance, and if I fail in Terms, or the just Computation of Times, I hope the Reader will excuse me. The King's Affairs went on Prosperously, without any manner of Opposition, taking some Town or other every Day; only now and then some Overture or Proposition was made, but came to nothing; for both Sides being high in their Demands, the War could not but continue. Duke *Maximilian* and the Young Princess had a Son the first Year, and it was the Arch-Duke *Philip*, who is still living: the next Year they had a Daughter called (p) *Margaret*, who at present is our Queen; the third, they had another called (q) *Francis*, after the Name of *Francis* Duke of *Bretagne*, who was his Godfather; The fourth Year the Princess (r) died of a Fall from her Horse, or a Fever, but 'tis certain she fell, and some say she was breeding. Her Death was a mighty Loss to her Subjects, for she was a Person of great Honour, affable and generous to all People, and more belov'd

A. B.

1477.

The Character of the Dutches of Austria, Daughter of Charles the last Duke of Burgundy

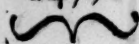
(p) This *Margaret* is the Lady, whom the *Gantois* betrothed to *Charles VIII.* against her Father's Consent, as appears by IX Chapter of this Book. *Charles VIII.* never perform'd the Marriage with her, but when he was arriv'd to the Age of one and twenty, he sent her back to her Father. She was afterwards married to the King of *Castile*, and lastly to *Philipert* Duke of *Savoy*. She was born in the Year 1480. *de la Marche*.

(q) Monsieur *Oliver de la Marche*, in his Memoirs, says, that this young Prince was baptized in the Church of *St. Gudule* in *Brussels*, and the Cardinal *Ferry de Cluny* was his second Godfather.

(r) She died the second of *March*, in the Year 1482. through an Excess of Female Modesty, chusing rather to die, than suffer a Surgeon to set her Thigh, which was broken by the Fall from her Horse.

A.D.

1477.



and respected by her Subjects than her Husband, as being Sovereign of their Country: She was a tender and passionate Lover of her Husband, and of singular Reputation for her Modesty and Virtue. This Misfortune happen'd in the Year 1482.

In *Hainault* the King was possess'd of two Towns, *Quesnoy le Comte*, and *Bouchain*, both which he restored; at which several Persons were highly astonish'd, as knowing his Aversion to Peace, and how desirous he was to take all, and leave the House of *Burgundy* nothing; and my Opinion is, if he could have done it handsomly, and destroyed, or divided his Territories at his Ease, he would not have failed to have done it. But as he told me afterwards himself, he surrendered those Towns in *Hainault* for two Reasons; the first was, because he thought a Prince was more oblig'd to take care of the Places of Strength and Importance in his own Country, where he was Anointed and Crowned King, than such as were out of his Dominions, as these were. The other was, because there had been solemn Oaths and Confederacies between the Emperors and the Kings of *France* not to invade or usurp upon one another; and these Places belonging to the Empire, were restored in the Year 1477. Upon the same account *Cambray* was likewise delivered, or put into a State of Neutrality, the King being contented to lose it; but the truth is they received him at first upon those Terms.

CHAP. IV.

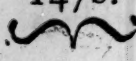
King Lewis, by the Management of Charles d'Amboise his Lieutenant, recovers many Towns in Burgundy, that the Prince of Orange had persuaded to revolt from him.

THOUGH the War was still carried on in *Burgundy*, yet the King could not accomplish his Designs; because the Prince of *Orange*, who had revolted from him) was chosen by the *Burgundians* to be their Lieutenant; and underhand assisted by the *Germans*, but more for the sake of his Money, than out of Love to *Maximilian*; for there was not a Man in the whole Country that espous'd his Interest, at least during the time I speak of. These *Germans* were *Swiss* Troops, and maintained the War upon their own score, not as Soldiers in *Maximilian's* Pay; for the *Swiss* are neither Friends nor Well-wishers to the House of *Austria*. The *Burgundians* had little Assistance besides, because their Pay was but bad; tho no Prince could better have supplied them, than Duke *Sigismund* of *Austria*, *Maximilian's* Uncle, whose Territories lay near, especially the County of *Ferrete*, which he had sold not many Years before, for 10000 Florins of the *Rhine*, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, and afterwards repossessed himself of it, without returning the Money; and as he took, so he keeps it by force. *Sigismund* was a Person of no great Penetration, nor very just and honourable in his Dealings, and from such Allies no great Assistance is to be expected: He was of the Number of those Princes I mentioned before, who are above concerning themselves with their own Affairs, and know nothing of them, but as

A. D.

1478.

A Digression concerning the Sloth and Indolence of some Princes,

A. D. 1478.  their Ministers of State are pleased to represent; and they are always rewarded for their Indolence and Supinuity, in their old Age, as *Sigismond* was here. During the Wars, his Ministers, who had the sole Administration of Affairs, engaged him on what side they pleased; and for the most part he enter'd into an Alliance with the King of *France* against his own Nephew, and would have given his Territories (which were very large) to a foreign Family, and disappointed his own Relations, (for tho' he had been twice married, he never had any Issue) but at last, not above three Months since, by the Persuasion of another Set of Ministers, he convey'd all to his Nephew *Maximilian*, (at present King of the *Romans*,) reserving only a Pension of about a third Part of the Revenue, without any other Authority or Power; but as I have been inform'd, he has often repented of it since; and if it be not true, it is very probable. And such is the Fate of Princes who live so carelessly, and like Beasts, and who certainly are highly to be condemned, upon account of the great Charge and Duty that God has laid upon them in this World. These Errors and imprudent Actions are not to be laid to the Charge of weak and stupid Princes, but of those who are indued with a sufficient Share of Sense and Understanding, and yet squander away all their Time, in Pleasure and Impertinence; such Princes have no Reason to complain, when any Misfortune befalls them. And on the other side, those who divide their Time according to their Age; sometimes in Council, and sometimes in Diversions, are much more to be commended; and those Subjects are more happy, who have such a Prince to Rule over 'em.

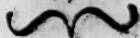
*The Office
of a good
Prince.*

The War in *Burgundy* was carried on for
some

some time, by the little Assistance they received from the *Germans*; yet the King's Forces were too powerful for them, for the *Burgundians* wanted Money, and their Garrisons were corrupted; the Lord *de Craon*, who was the King's General in those Parts, besieged *Dole*, the chief Town in the County of *Burgundy*; which he presumed he should quickly make himself Master of, upon account of the Weakness of their Garrison, but his Confidence proved much to his Disadvantage; for being surpris'd by a sudden Sally, he lost some few of his Men, and to his eternal Dishonour, a great Part of his Cannon; which so highly rais'd the King's Displeasure against him, that being vex'd at this unfortunate Action; he began to think of sending a new Governor into the County of *Burgundy*, not only upon Account of this Misfortune, but for the great and excessive Sums of Money which he had exacted in those Parts: However, before the General laid down the Command of the Army, he had engaged and defeated a Party of *Germans* and *Burgundians*, in which Action (f) Monsieur *de Chesteauguyon* (the greatest Lord of *Burgundy*) was taken Prisoner; and besides that, nothing of Importance was done that Day; I speak only by Hear-say, and if we may believe Report, the Lord *de Craon* behav'd himself with a great deal of Valour and Intrepidity in that Engagement. As I was saying, the King for the Reasons abovemention'd resolved to put a new Governor into the County of *Burgundy*; but not to meddle with the Profits or Advantages of the Lord *de Craon's* (t) Places, only he depriv'd him of his

A. D.

1478.



(f) *Hugh de Chalon*, Son of *William Prince of Orange*.

(t) This Lord *de Craon* was at that Time Governor of *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Burgundy*, and *Tourraine*: He was also in

A.D. 1478. his Guards, and left him but six Men at Arms, and a dozen Archers to attend him : The Lord de Craon

was grown very unwieldy, and retir'd well satisfied to his Country Seat, which was richly furnished, and where he liv'd in great Ease and Plenty. The King put into his Post Monsieur Charles d'Amboise Lord of Chaumont, a valiant, discreet, and diligent Officer ; who, upon his first Advancement endeavour'd to persuade the Germans from assisting the Burgundians, and to get them to enter into the King's Service, (not that he valued their Service, but to facilitate his Conquest of the rest of that Country) To this purpose the King sent to the Germans or Swifs (whom he stiled, *The Confederate Lords*) and offer'd them, very fair Terms : First, a Pension of 2000 Franks, to be paid to four of their Chief Towns, as Bern, Lucern, Zurich, and I suppose Friburg, with their three Cantons (upon the Mountains) Swifs, which now gives Name to the whole Country, *Souluerre* and *Ondreval* : 20000 Franks *per Annum*, to particular Persons, whose Assistance he used in his Negotiations ; and to oblige them he made himself one of their Burgeffes, and their Principal Ally, and desir'd it might be declar'd in Writing ; but they made some Difficulty of consenting to that, because, Time immemorial, the Duke of Savoy had been their principal Ally ; yet at length they consented, and promised to furnish the King with a Body of 6000 Men, to be employ'd continually in his Service, upon condition he should pay to each Man, four Florins and a half in Dutch Money every Month, which was granted, and that Number was continued in the King's Service till his Death. A

An Alliance between Lewis XI. and the Swifs.

in Possession of the Governments of several other Cities in France ; and Chief Chamberlain to the King, besides enjoying the whole Revenue of the Barony of Craon in Anjou, which was his own Inheritance.

poor

poor Prince could not have been able to have managed this Affair, which turn'd so much to the King's Advantage at that Time; tho' I am of Opinion, in the End it will be a Prejudice to him, for they are now so used to Money, (which was a Stranger to them before) especially Gold, that it was like to have rais'd a civil War among 'em, which was the only Thing that was capable of ruining, or doing them any Mischief: For their Country is so poor and mountainous; and the Inhabitants of such a martial Temper, that few or none of the neighbouring Princes thought it worth their while to endeavour to conquer them. When these Treaties were agreed on, and the *Swiss* in *Burgundy* had enter'd into the King's Service, the *Burgundian* Power was utterly broken and destroy'd: To bring Matters to a Conclusion, the Governour, Monsieur de Chaumont, had perform'd several notable Exploits, he besieged *Rochefort*, a Castle near *Dole*, commanded by Monsieur *Claude de Vaudray*; having taken it by Capitulation, he also besieg'd *Dole*, (where, as I said before, his Predecessor had been repuls'd) and took it by Storm; the new revolted *Swiss* design'd to have got in, and defended it; but a Body of *Frank* Archers getting in amongst them, (not with any Suspicion of their Design, but Desire of Plunder) when they were entred, all of them fell to pillaging, and the Town was burnt and destroy'd. Not long after he besieg'd *Aussonne*, a strong Town, but he held Intelligence with some of the Garrison; and wrote to the King for some of the Offices for them, before his investing the Town, which was readily granted. I was not upon the Place my self, yet I was well inform'd, both by the Report which was made to the King, and the Letters which were sent to him, of which I had frequently a Sight,

A. D.
1478.

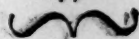
The
French
take *Dole*
by Storm.

Philip de
Comines
Secretary
of State to
Lewis XI.
being

A. D. 1478. being employ'd by the King to return Answers to many of them. *Aussone* had but a small Garrison in it, and the chief Officers being in Treaty with the Governour, in five or six Days the Place was surrendred; so that there remain'd nothing in all *Burgundy*, for the King to take Possession of, but three or four Castles upon the Mountains, to wit, *Jeu* and others, and *Bezanzon*, which is an Imperial Town, not at all, or very little subject to the County of *Burgundy*; but being seated as it were in the Middle of it, paid a sort of an Obedience to the Prince of that Country. The Governor took Possession of the Town, and the Inhabitants having paid him the Homage, which they were accusom'd to do to the Princes, who had Possession of *Burgundy* formerly, he immediately quitted it. After this expeditious Manner was the whole Province subdued; and the King follow'd the Business very closely, as fearing the Governor desired some Place might still hold out, in order to continue longer in his Command, and not be moved into another Country to serve him upon some other Expedition: for *Burgundy* is a plentiful Country, and he manag'd it as if it had been his own Inheritance, so that he, as well as the Lord *de Craon*, had feather'd his Nest there. This Province, for some time continued in Peace, under his Administration; but afterwards several Towns rebelled, as *Beaune*, *Semur*, *Verdun*, and others, (I was then present, being sent by the King with the Pensioners of his Household; this was the first Time the Pensioners had ever any Officer to command 'em, and since they have never been without) which Towns were reduced by the Wisdom and Conduct of our General, and the Indiscretion of the Enemy. By this one may plainly see the vast Difference there is between Men, which proceeds

A. D.

1478.



The Author's Partiality to his own Nation.

proceeds from the Grace of God, who gives wise Ministers of State to that Nation he designs to support, and to the Prince that governs it, Wisdom to chuse them; and has made, and does still make it appear, that in all Things he will maintain our Monarchy, not only in the Person of our late virtuous Master, but of this also, though he has sometimes suffer'd him to be in Affliction. Those who lost these Places the second time, were strong enough to have defended them, had they assembled their Forces time enough, and thrown 'em into the Town; but they gave the Governor Leisure to draw his Troops together, which they ought not to have done; for having Intelligence of his Strength, and knowing the Country was entirely in his Interest, they ought to have thrown themselves into *Beaune*; which was a strong Town, and more defensible than the rest. The very Day the Governor march'd out into the Field, to invest a little Town called *Verdun*; upon Information of their weak Condition, the *Burgundians* entered it, in their March to *Beaune*; they were in all, both Horse and Foot, six hundred choice Men out of the County of *Ferrete*, commanded by several old *Burgundian* Officers, among whom *Simon de Quingey* was one; they halted when they should have got into *Beaune*, (which if they had done) the Place had been almost impregnable, but for want of good Council, they staid a Night too long, were besieged in *Verdun*, and taken by Storm; and after them *Beaune* was reduced, and all the rest of the Revolters, the Loss of which Towns the *Burgundians* could never recover; I was at this time with the King's Pensioners (as I said before) in *Burgundy*, from whence I was commanded by the King, upon an Information he had received, that I had favour'd certain of the

Philip de Comines, upon pretence of Business, banish'd for some time into Italy.

A. D. the Citizens of *Dijon* about the Quartering of 1478. Soldiers. This Charge, with other little Suspicions, was the Cause why he sent me away suddenly for *Florence*; I obey'd him, as I had Reason to do, and upon the Receipt of his Letters, set out immediately for *Italy*.



The first Alliance between the *Swiss Cantons*, viz. those of *Zurich, Bern, Soleurre, Lucern, Vry, Switz, Underwald* above and below the Wood, *Zoug and Glaris*; and *France*, under *Charles VII. Anno 1453.*

WE *Charles VII. King of France, &c.* do in the first Place, promise by these Presents for our selves and Successors, that there shall always be a lasting Friendship and Concord, between our Subjects and Successors, and the Cantons of the old League of *High Germany*, and their Successors: And that we will give no manner of Assistance to any who shall make any Attempts against them; nor receive, nor agree to receive into our Kingdom, any who shall pretend to attack them.

2. That the Subjects of the Cantons of what Degree soever, may pass and return with their Goods and Attendance, arm'd or unarm'd, a Foot or on Horseback, thro' our Kingdoms and Territories, without any Molestation by Word or Deed, provided that by this Leave no Damage or Injury be done to our Subjects, the Princes of the Blood, Confederates and Allies: In confirmation of all which, we have affixed our Seal to these Presents.

This

This Treaty was ratified by *Lewis XI.* in 1463. And in 1470. a new Alliance made between that Prince and the *Swiss*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, to this Effect.

WE *Lewis, &c.* shall in no Time to come, either by our selves or others, separately or conjointly, give any Succour, Aid, Favour or Assistance, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, against our most dear Friends the Cantons of the *Grand League*, viz. *Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Vry, Switz, Underwald, &c.* so that they in general or particular, may receive any Detriment in Body or Goods, or any other Way whatsoever: We also, of the said League promise never directly nor indirectly to give any Succour, Favour or Assistance to the said Duke of *Burgundy*, against the most serene Lord the most Christian King, so as that either he or his, in general or particular, might receive any Detriment in Body and Goods, or any other Way whatsoever, sincerely, and without all manner of Fraud. At the same time our Meaning is, that the Alliances made long ago between the said King and us, be preserved inviolable in all Points, and in their perpetual Force and Vigour. Given at *Tours*, Sept. 20. 1470. and the 10th of our Reign.



A stricter Alliance between *Lewis XI.* and the *Swiss Cantons*, 1474.

In the first Place, **T**HE King in all and every of his Wars, and especially against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and all others, is faithfully to aid, Succour and defend us at his own Charge.

2. He

2. He shall as long as he lives, be bound to pay us every Year, in his City of Lyons, the Sum of 20000 Franks, viz. 5000 every Quarter, to be distributed equally between our Parties: And if the King, in his Wars and Armies has Occasion for our Help, and does require it, we shall then be obliged at his Charge to supply him with such a Number of Troops armed as we shall think proper, and are able: That is, in case we be not engaged in a War of our own; and he shall pay every Soldier four Florins and a half of the Rhine a Month, allowing twelve Months in the Year.

3. The King, when he shall require our Assistance, shall in one of the Towns of Zurich, Bern, or Lucern, have a Month's Pay for every Soldier that shall be raised for him, and two Months Pay in the City of Geneva, or some other Places, as most commodious, and at the Choice of the Cantons.

4. The three Months Pay shall commence from the Day that our Men shall quit their Homes: They shall enjoy the same Privileges as the King's own Subjects; and at what Time soever we shall require the said King to send us Succours in our Wars against the Duke of Burgundy, and that by Reason of his other Wars he is engaged in, he cannot do it; then to the End we may be able to maintain our said Wars, the said King shall, as long as we shall continue in Arms, pay us in the City of Lyons the Sum of 20000 Florins of the Rhine, per Quarter, without Prejudice, and over and above the Sum above mention'd.

5. And when we shall make a Peace or a Truce with the Duke of Burgundy, or any other Enemy of the King or us, we shall be obliged particularly to include the said King therein; and he is to do the same by us in all his Wars, against the Duke of Burgundy and others.

6. Both the Parties include their Allies in this Treaty.

7. *At the instant that we are engaged in a War with the Duke of Burgundy, the King shall sincerely and with all his Might levy War against the said Duke, and do every Thing as is usual in War, both for his and our Advantage, without Fraud or Deceit.*

8. *We will maintain this Union and Friendship inviolably, which is to last during the King's Life. We have in the usual Form deliver'd these Presents to the King, who has done the same to us.*

Done Jan. 10. 1474.

CHAP. V.

Of the Lord of Argenton's being sent to Florence during the Wars in Burgundy, and his receiving Homage of the Duke of Milan, in the King's Name, for the Dutchy of Genoa.



THE Design of my going into Italy, A. D. 1478.
 was to adjust a Difference between two illustrious Families, very eminent in those Days. One was the Family of the *Medicis*, the other of the *Pacis*; which last, being supported by the Pope, and *Ferrand* King of *Naples*, endeavoured to cut off (a) *Laurence de Medicis*, and all his Adherents: They fail'd in their Design upon *Laurence de Medicis*; but they slew his Brother (b) *Julian* in the great Church in *Florence*, and with him one (c) *Feuguinet*, (a Person

(a) Surnamed the *Magnanimous*, Governor of the Republick of *Florence*.

(b) Father of *Julius de Medicis*, who was afterwards Pope, by the Name of *Clement VIII*.

(c) *Franfquin Noli*, which comes nearer to *Francesco Nori* mention'd in *Machiavel's* History of *Florence*.

A. D. 1478. of Honour, and a Partizan of the House of *Medicis*) who threw himself before *Julian*, in Hopes to have saved him. *Laurence* was much wounded, but made his Retreat into the Vestry of the Church, whose Doors were of Copper, and given as a free Gift by his Father. A Servant whom he had delivered out of Prison but two Days before, did him considerable Service; and receiv'd several Wounds which were aim'd at *Laurence*. This Assassination was committed at the Time of high Mass, and the Moment appointed for Execution; was when the Priest should begin the *Sanctus*: But it fell out otherwise than was design'd; for supposing all sure, some of the Conspirators ran to the Palace, to kill the Senators which were there, (which Senate consisted of about Nine Persons, has the whole Administration of the Affairs of that City, and is chang'd every three Months;) but being ill-back'd, and having run up Stairs into the Palace, some body pulled one of the Doors after them; so that when they were got up, there were not above four or five, and those in such a terrible Consternation, that they knew not what to say or do. The Senators, and their Servants that attended them, perceiving the Astonishment of the Conspirators, look'd out of the Windows, saw all the Town in Confusion, and heard Signor *James de Pacis*, and his Accomplices, crying out in the Palace-Yard, *Liberta, Liberta, Popolo, Popolo*, thinking by this Means to have stirr'd up the People to have taken their Parts, and join'd with them in the Insurrection, but they were mightily mistaken in their Designs; for the Mob kept themselves very quiet; upon which *James de Pacis*, and his Adherents, despairing of Success, betook themselves to flight. The Governors and Magistrates of the City, who were then in the Palace, finding how

Matters

*A Conspiracy in
Florence
against the
Family of
the Medicis.*

Matters went, immediately seiz'd upon the five or six who were got up into the Rooms, with a Design to have murder'd them; and caused them to be hanged at the Bars of the Palace-Windows, among whom was (*d*) the Archbishop of *Pisa*: The Senators finding the People unanimously declare for the House of *Medicis*, sent immediately to all the Passes upon the Road, to stop and apprehend all Persons that were found flying, and to bring them before the Senate. *James de Pacis* was presently apprehended, and with him an Officer of the Pope's, who had the Command of a Brigade under the Count *Hieronymo*, who was privy to, and concern'd in the Plot. *Pacis* and his Accomplices were hang'd up at the same Windows by their Brethren; but the Pope's Officer had the Favour of being beheaded: Several more were discover'd in the Town, (and amongst them *Francisco de Pacis*) and all hang'd immediately; so that in the whole, there were about fourteen or fifteen Persons of Quality hang'd, besides Servants which were kill'd in the Town.

Not long after this Accident, I arriv'd at *Florence* in Quality of an Agent for the King; having made no stay since I left *Burgundy*, unless it were to or three Days with the Dutcheß of *Savoy*, the King's Sister, who received me very graciously. From thence I proceeded to *Milan*, where I continued two or three Days likewise to sollicite Supplies for the said *Florentines*, with whom at that Time the *Milanois* were in Alliance. The *Milanois* granted them very freely, it being their own Duty, as well as the King's Request, and sent 'em immediately a Re-inforcement of 300 Men at Arms, and afterwards a greater. In

(a) *Francis Salviati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*.

A. D.
1478.

short, the Pope, immediately upon this Tumult in *Florence*, excommunicated the *Florentines*; and caused his own Army, in Conjunction with that of the King of *Naples*, to march. The *Neapolitan* Army was numerous, made a fine Appearance, and had abundance of brave Soldiers in it. They first besieged *Castellina*, not far from *Senes*, and took it, with several other Places; so that it was a great hazard but the *Florentines* had been utterly ruin'd, for they had enjoy'd a long Peace, and were not sensible of their Danger: *Laurence de Medicis*, who was Governor in that City, was but young, and manag'd by Persons of his own Years; yet his Judgment was of great Authority among them; they had but few good Officers, and their Army was but small: The Pope's and King of *Naples* Army, were commanded in chief by the Duke of *Urbino*, a wise Man, and a brave Commander; with him there were likewise *Robert d' Arimini*, (since a great Man) *Constantine de Pesaro*, and several other Officers, and two of the King's Sons; that is, the Duke of *Calabria*, and *Don Frederick*, both of them still living, and many other Persons of Quality. They took all Places which they besieged, but not with the same Expedition which we do in *France*; for they were not well skill'd in the Art of making and defending a Town; but for encamping and supplying their Army with Provisions, and giving Orders for all things necessary for a Campaign, they understood that better than we. The King's Inclination toward them was in some Measure serviceable to them, but not so much as I could have wish'd; for I had no Supplies of Men to reinforce them, more than what were in my own Retinue. I staid in *Florence* and its Territories a whole Year, was nobly treated at their Expence all the while, and with more Civility

ility at last than at first: But being recall'd by the King, I set out for *Milan*, where I receiv'd Homage of *John Galeas*, Duke of *Milan*, for the Dutchy of *Genoa*, which Homage was perform'd to my Master by the Duke's Mother in her Son's Name; after which, I returned to my Master, who received me very graciously, and admitted me more freely to his Affairs than ever before, permitting me to lie with him, tho' I was unworthy of that Favour, and tho' he had several Persons about his Court, more deserving of such a Familiarity than my self. But he was so discreet, and so sagacious a Prince, that no Minister of his, could possibly miscarry in any Negotiation he was employ'd in, provided he acted directly according to his Instructions.

A. D.
1478.

The Author's Testimony of the Wisdom of Lewis XI

CHAP. VI.

Of Philip de Comines's Return out of Italy into France, and of the Battle of Guinegate.



UPON my Return from *Italy*, I found our King a little impair'd and decay'd in his Health, and inclinable to be sickly; yet not so much as to neglect his Affairs, which he manag'd himself, and was still engag'd in his Wars in *Picardy*, upon which his Heart was mightily set, and the Enemy was no less fond of it, if they could have got it into their Possession. The Duke of *Austria* (at present King of the *Romans*) having that Year the *Flemings* at his Command, invested *Therouenne*, and the Lord des Cordes, the King's Lieutenant in *Picardy*, having assembled all the Forces that were in that Province, and the Frontier Towns, and joining them with eight thousand

A. D.
1479.

The Siege of Therouenne.

A. D. 1479. *The Battle of Guinegate in Picardy.* *land Frank Archers, march'd to relieve it : Upon News of his Approach, the Duke of Austria rais'd the Siege, and advancing to meet him, they came to an Engagement at a Place call'd Guinegate* The Duke had 20000 Men or more out of the Country of *Flanders*, besides some few *Germans*, and about 300 *English*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Abrigan*, who had been in the Service of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. The King's Cavalry were much more numerous than the Duke's, broke them immediately, and drove them and their Commander, the Lord *Philip de Ravestein*, as far as *Aire* ; upon which the Duke join'd them with his Foot. In the King's Army there were about 1100 Men at Arms, old Soldiers, and of the standing Forces : All that Body of Horse did not follow the Chase, but the Lord *des Cordes*, who commanded in Chief, pursued, and Monsieur *de Torcy* with him ; tho' they behav'd themselves very bravely, yet it is not the Duty of any Officer, that commands either the Van or the Rear, to follow the Pursuit. Some retreated under Pretence of defending their own Towns ; others fled down-right ; but the Duke's Foot kept their Ground, though they were vigorously attack'd, having with them on Foot two hundred Gentlemen, all good Officers, and brave Men, and among them the (d) Count *de Romont*, a Son of the House of *Savoy*, the (e) Count *de Nassau*, and several others, who are still living. The Bravery and Conduct of these Gentlemen kept the whole Body together, which was very much, after the Defeat of their Cavalry : The King's *Frank Archers* fell a plundering the Duke's Waggon, and all that attended them,

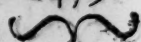
(d) *James de Savoy*, Count *de Romont*, Baron of *Vaux*, Son of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*, and *Anne of Cyprus*.

(e) *Engelbert de Nassau*.

as Sutlers and others; which being observ'd, some of the Duke's Forces rallied, attack'd, and cut off a great Number of them. On the Duke's side the Slaughter was greater, and more Prisoners were taken, but he remain'd Master of the Field of Battle; and I am of Opinion, that if he had march'd back immediately to *Threouienne*, he had not met with the least Opposition either there or at *Arras*: Yet he durst not venture, which prov'd highly to his Disadvantage; but in such Cases one knows not always what Measures are best to be taken, and indeed he had some Reason to fear. I speak of this Battle only by Hear-say, for I was not in it; but to continue my Discourse, I thought it necessary to mention it. I was with the King, when he receiv'd the News of this Defeat; his Majesty was extremely concern'd at it, for he had not been used to lose any thing, but had been successful in all his Enterprizes, as if every thing had succeeded according to his Direction; though to speak Truth, his Judgment and Penetration in State Affairs contributed very much to his Success: For he would never venture any thing, and always endeavour'd to avoid a Battle; nor was this fought by any positive Orders from him. His Armies were always so numerous, few Princes were able to cope with him, and he had a larger Train of Artillery than any of his Predecessors. His Method was to assemble his Troops on a sudden, and attack those Places that were ill provided, and slenderly fortified; into which he immediately put such a strong Garrison, with a sufficient Quantity of Artillery, that it was almost impossible to retake them: Besides, if the Governor or any other Officer in the Town had a mind to betray it for Money, he was sure to have the King for a Chapman, and they need

A. D.

1479.



Lewis XI,
a very fortunate and
politick
Prince.

The
French
Method of
getting
Towns in
the Low
Countries

A. D. 1479. not be afraid to demand an extravagant Sum; for let it be never so exorbitant, his Majesty would certainly give it rather than venture a Battle, or undertake a Siege. He was mightily alarm'd at the first News of this Battle, supposing he had lost all, and that they durst not tell him the Truth; for he was sensible, had it been an absolute Defeat, all that he had got from the House of *Burgundy* in those Marches and elsewhere, would certainly have been in very great Danger. However, as soon as he was inform'd of the whole Truth, and found Matters were not so bad as he at first imagin'd; he was better satisfied, and gave Orders that for the future, no Battle should be fought without his Knowledge and Consent, and was reconciled to the Lord *des Cordes*. From this very Hour the King resolved to set a Treaty of Peace on Foot, between him and the Duke of *Austria*, but to manage the whole Negotiation purely to his own Advantage; and so to curb the Duke with his own Subjects (who he knew were as desirous as himself to have the Wings of his Authority clipp'd) that it should not be in his Power for the future to disturb or incommode him. He was likewise very desirous to make some new Regulations in the Affairs of his own Kingdom, for the Advantage of his Subjects, particularly about Delays and Protraction in Processes of Law; to this purpose he determin'd to restrain the Court of Parliament, not by Diminution of their Number or Authority; but they took Cognizance of many things against his Consent, which occasion'd his Hatred against 'em. He was also desirous to establish in his Kingdom, one general Custom as to Weights and Measures; and that all the Laws should be written in *French*, and reduced into one Code or Abridgement, to prevent

*The Design
of Lewis
XI. to re-
form seve-
ral Abuses
in the Go-
vernment.*

vent the Frauds and Prevarications of the Lawyers, which are greater there than in any other Nation in *Europe*, as the Nobility has often experienc'd to their Cost. And doubtless had God permitted him to live six or seven Years longer in Peace and Health, he would have enacted several excellent Laws, and done abundance of glorious things for the Benefit and Advantage of his Subjects; and it was but reasonable he should do so, for from the Beginning of his Reign to this Time, he had oppress'd and tyranniz'd over 'em more than all his Predecessors. But no Man's Authority or Remonstrance could persuade him, it must come of its own Accord, as certainly it would, if God had not afflicted him with Sickness: Wherefore 'tis best to make use of our Time, and do all the Good that lies in our Power, while we are in Health, and our Senses in perfect Strength and Vigour.

The Peace which the King design'd to make with the Duke of *Austria*, his Dutcheß, and their Dominions, was to be effected by the Mediation of the *Gantois*, upon Proposals of a Match between the *Dauphin*, (who is now our King) and the Daughter of the Duke and Dutcheß, by which they should leave him the Counties of *Burgundy*, *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, and *Charolois*; and in Exchange the King would restore the Province of *Artois*, retaining only the City of *Arras*, in the same Posture of Defence it was in, at that time of Treaty; for the Town was not considerable since the new Fortifications, which were very strong, were added to the City. Before they fell into the King's Hands, the Town was much stronger than the City, with a large Ditch, and thick Walls between them; but now the City was in a much better Posture of Defence, and kept for the King by the Bishop of

The shuffling Dealings of Lewis XI. with the Duke of Austria.

the

A.D.

1479.



the Place, contrary to the Practice of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, for above a hundred Years together; for they always made whom they pleased Bishop and put in a Governor besides: But the King, to shew his Authority, proceeded in a quite different Manner, caused the Town Walls to be demolished, and new ones to be raised about the City, which before (as I said) was weaker than the Town, with great Ditches betwixt them; so that in effect, the King gave nothing in the Treaty; for he that was Master of the City could command the Town when he pleased. There was not the least mention made of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the County of *Boulogne*, the Towns upon the *Somme*, or the Chastellanies of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Mondidier*. The *Gantois* were extremely pleased with these Proposals, behav'd themselves very disrespectfully to the Duke and Dutchess of *Austria*; and some of the other great Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant* were as importunate and saucy as they, concurring in the Opinion of the *Gantois*, and particularly *Brussels*, which was grown prodigious rich, by reason that Duke *Philip* and *Charles* for a long time had kept their Courts there; and the Duke and Dutchess of *Austria* had their Residence in it at that very Time. But the long Ease and Pleasures that they had enjoy'd under the above-mention'd Princes, made them so far forget both God and their Sovereign, that at last they pull'd down Misfortunes upon their Heads, and occasion'd their own Ruin.

CHAP. VII.

Of King Lewis's being surpriz'd with a Distemper, that for some time took away the Use both of his Senses and Tongue; of his Recovery and Relapse several times, and of his keeping himself in the Castle at Plessis les Tours.

IN the Year 1479. in the Month of A. D. 1479.
March, a Truce was concluded between the two Princes; tho' the King was very sollicitious for a Peace, especially in those Places, I have mentioned, which would have proved very advantageous for his Affairs. He began now to decline in his Age, and to be subject to Infirmary, and as he was sitting at Dinner one Day at *Forges* near *Chynon*, he was seized on a sudden with a Fit that took away his Speech. Those who were about him took him from the Table, held him to the Fire, shut up the Windows, and tho' he endeavoured to get to them for the Benefit of the Air, yet imagining it for the best, they would not suffer him to stir. It was in *March*, 1479. when this Fit seized upon him after this manner, which depriv'd him of his Speech, Understanding, and Memory. It was your Fortune, my Lord of *Vienne*, to be present at that time, and act the Part of a Physician; for having order'd him a Glyster, and caused the Windows to be opened to give him fresh Air, he came a little to himself immediately, recovered his Speech and his Senses in some measure, and mounting on Horseback, he returned to *Forges*, for he was taken with this Fit in a small Village about a Quarter of a League off, whither he went to hear Mass. He was diligently attended, and made Signs for every

Lewis XI.
falls sick
near Chynon.

A. D. every thing he wanted : Among other things,
1480. he desired the Official of *Tours* to come and take

his Confession, and made Signs that he should be sent for, for I was gone to *Argenton* about 10 Leagues off: Upon my Return I found him at the Table, and with him Monsieur (f) *Adam Fumée* (Physician to the late King *Charles*, and at present Master of the Requests) and one Monsieur *Claude*, another Physician. He made Signs that I should lie in his Chamber; he understood little that was said to him, and his Words were not intelligible; but he felt no manner of Pain.

Philip de
Comines
in great
favour
with Lewis
XI.

The Kings
of France
always go
to Confes-
sion before
they touch
for the
King's E-
vil.

I waited on him above a Month at the Table, and in his Chamber as one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, which I took for a great Honour, and it gave me great Reputation. At the end of two or three Days, he began to recover his Speech and his Senses; he fancied no body understood him so clearly as my self, and therefore would have me always to attend him. He confessed himself to the Official in my Presence, for otherwise he could not have understood what he had said: There was no great matter in his Confession, for he had been at Confession a few Days before, because whenever the Kings of France Touch for the King's Evil, they confess themselves first, and he never mist touching once every Week, and if other Princes do not the same, I think they are highly to blame; for

(f) Lord of *Roche St. Quintin* in *Touraine*, the chief Master of the Board of Green Cloath, and afterwards Keeper of the Great Seal of France in 1479. from the Removal of the Chancellor *Doriolle*, to the Year 1483, in which *William de Rochefort* was promoted to the Chancellorship. He was the Son of *Paul Fumée*, Governor of *Nantes* who was sent to Rome by *Lewis XI.* in an Embassy to the Pope. The same *Adam Fumée* was Counsellor and chief Physician to *Charles VII.* *Lewis IX.* and *Charles VIII.* and died in the Year 1500.

there

there are always great Numbers of People to be Touch'd. As soon as he was a little recover'd, he began to enquire who they were who held him by force from going to the Window; and having an Account of their Names, he banish'd them the Court, took away their Employments from some of them, and never saw them again. From some, as (d) Monsieur de Segre, Gilbert de Grassay Lord of Champeroux, he took away nothing, but banish'd them from his Presence. Many wonder'd at his Fancy; condemn'd his Proceedings, and affirm'd they had done what in their Opinion they thought for the best, and that they were in the right; but the Imagination of Princes are different, and all those who undertake to give an account of 'em have not Judgment enough to distinguish them. He was jealous of nothing so much as the Loss of his Regal Authority, which was then very great; and he would not suffer his Commands to be disobey'd in the most trivial Point. On the other hand, he remembred, that his Father King Charles, in the last Fit of which he died, took a Fancy that his Courtiers had a mind to poison him, to make way for his Son; and it made so deep an Impression upon him, that he refus'd to eat, and by the Advice of his Physicians, and all the chief of his Favorites. it was concluded he should be forced; and so after a great Deliberation they forced Victuals down his Throat, upon which Violence he died. King Lewis having always condemned that way of proceeding, took it very heinously that they should use any Violence with him, and yet he pretended to be more angry than he was; for the great matter that moved him was an Appre-

A.D.

1480.

A remarkable Instance of the tyrannical Temper of Lewis XI.

An unaccountable Distrust of Charles VII. a little before his Death.

Lewis XI. fearful of losing his Authority.

(d) James d'Espany Knight, Lord of Uffe, Segre, and St. Michel upon the Loyre, Chamberlain to Lewis XI.

A. D. 1480.  hension that they would govern him in every thing else, and pretend he was unfit for the Administration of publick Affairs, by reason of the Imbecility of his Senses.

After he had thus severally handled the Persons above-mention'd, he made an Enquiry into what had been done in Council, and the Orders which had been made for ten or twelve Days before he fell sick, of which the (e) Bishop of *Alby*, his (f) Brother the Governor of *Burgundy*, (g) the *Mareschal de Giè*, and the (h) Lord *du Lude* had the principal Charge, and were most responsibel, as being with him when he fell ill, and lodged under him in two little Chambers. He would also see all Letters and Dispatches as they arrived, and Couriers arrived every Hour; they shew'd him the Originals, and I read them to him: He would pretend to understand them, take them into his own Hand, and make as if he read them to himself, when in truth he did not understand one Syllable of 'em. Yet he would offer now and then at a Word, and make signs what Answers should be given; but little Business was dispatch'd during his Illness, the greatest part hanging in suspense till we could see what would be the Event; for he was a Prince that requir'd all things to be done with the utmost Nicety and Exactness. This Indisposition continued about a Fortnight, at the End of which he recover'd his Speech and Senses pretty well; but he remained very weak, and in great fear of a Relapse, for naturally he was not apt to put confidence in his Physicians.

Lewis XI.
a Prince
difficult to
be pleas'd.

(e) Lewis d'Amboise.

(f) Charles d'Amboise.

(g) Peter de Rhoan.

(h) John de Daillon, mentioned before; Book IV. Chap. II. and Book V. Chap. XIII.

As soon as he was a little recover'd he releas'd the Cardinal *Balue* out of the Castle of *Lookes*, where he had been a Prisoner for fourteen Years, tho' the Pope and other Princes had many times interceded for his Inlargment, of which Crime he was absolved afterwards by an Express Bull from his *Holliness*, which the King had solemnly requested. When he was first seiz'd with his Illness, those who were about him gave him over for dead, and Orders were given out for remitting an heavy Tax, which at the Instigation of the Lord *des Cordes* (his Lieutenant in *Picardy*) he had lately laid upon his Subjects, for the raising ten thousand Foot as a standing Force, and 2500 Pioneers, which were to be call'd the *Gens du Camp*; to which he added 1500 of his old standing Forces, who were to fight on foot upon occasion, among the rest; besides which he caused a vast Number of Tents and Pavilions to be made, and Waggon to inclose all, in imitation of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Camp cost him 15000 Franks a Year. When it was ready, he went to review this Body of new-raisd Forces in a large Plain near *Pont del Arche* in *Normandy*. In this Camp there were the six thousand *Swiss* I mentioned before, which was the greatest Number of them we had ever seen before. From thence he return'd to *Tours*, where he was taken with a new Fit, lost his Speech again, and for two Hours together every Body thought him dead being laid upon a Straw-Bed in a Gallery, with several People about him: The Lord *du Bouchage* and I devoutly recommended him to St. *Claude*, and all that were present concurr'd with our Prayers; but immediately he recovered his Speech, and walk'd up and down the House, but very weak and

✱

feeble;

A. D. feeble and this second Fit took him 1481. He
 1481. went into the Country as formerly, and particularly with me to *Argenton*, where he continued a Month together very ill; from thence he went to *Toure*, where he was also very sick, and undertook a Voyage to *St. Claude*, to whom we had recommended him, as you have already heard: At his Departure from *Tours* he sent me into *Savoy* to oppose the Lords *de la Chambre*, *Miolans*, and *Bresse*, (tho' he was privately their Friends) for their having seiz'd upon the Person of the Lord *de Lins* of *Dauphine*, whom he had recommended to be Governor to his Nephew Duke *Philebert*. He sent a considerable Body of Troops after me, which I carried to *Mascon* against Monsieur *de Bresse*; however he and I were agreed underhand. Being informed that the Lord *de la Chambre* was at the Duke of *Savoy's* Court at *Turin* in *Piedmont*, he gave me notice of it, and I caused our Soldiers to retire; for he brought the Duke of *Savoy* to *Grenoble*, where the Marshal of *Burgundy*, the Marquis *de Rothelin*, and my self, went to receive and compliment his Highness. The King sent for me back to him to *Beajeu* in *Beajolois*: I was amazed to find him so weak, and wonder'd how he had Strength enough to bear the Fatigue of travelling so well as he did; but his great Spirit carried him throught all Difficulties. At *Beaujeu* he received Advice, that the Dutcheß of *Austria* was dead of a Fall from her Horse: She had been set upon a hot-headed young Pad, that threw her down against a Piece of Timber, and was the Occasion of her Death. Others said she died of a Fever, not of her Fall; but be it which it will, she lived not many Days after, to the great detriment of her Friends and Subjects; for after her Death they never had Peace. The
 People

People of *Ghent* had a greater Love and Respect for her than her Husband, as being their Natural Sovereign. This Misfortune happen'd in the Year 1482. The King told me of it with a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction; being extremely pleased that the two Children were under the Tuition of the *Gantois*, who (he knew) were inclined to any Mischief that might weaken the Power of the House of *Burgundy*; and now he thought this was the only time to attempt something, because the Duke of *Austria* was young, his Father still living, involv'd in War on every side, a stranger, and his Forces very weak; and the covetous Temper of the present Emperor made him less-belov'd than the rest.

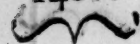
A. D.
1481.

A Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VIII. and the Lady Margaret of Flanders.

From that time the King began to solicit the *Gantois* by his Agent the Lord *des Cordes*, about the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the Lady *Margaret*, the Duke's Daughter, who is at present our Queen. The Lord *des Cordes* apply'd himself in this Affair to one *William Rym*, Pensionary of the Town (a cunning subtle Man) and *Copenol* the Town-Clerke, who was an *Hofier*, and a Person of great Reputation among the People, who in Times of Trouble are soonest wrought upon by such. The King return'd to *Tours*, and kept himself so close, that very few were admitted to see him; for he was grown jealous of all his Courtiers, and afraid they would either depose, or deprive him of some part of his Regal Authority. He removed from about him all his old Favourites, especially if they had any extraordinary Familiarity with him; but he took nothing from them, only commanded them to their Posts or Country Seats: But this lasted not long, for he died a while after. He did many odd things, which made some believe his Senses were a little im-

A. D.

1481.

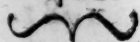


The first
Beginning
of raising
Taxes in
France
without
the Con-
sent of the
People.

pair'd; but they knew not his Humours. As to his Jealousy, all Princes are prone to it, especially those who are wise, have many Enemies, and have oppress'd many People, as our Master had done: Besides, he found he was not belov'd by the Nobility of the Kingdom, nor many of the Commons; for he had taxed them more than any of his Predecessors, tho' he now had some thoughts of easing them, as I said before; but he should have begun sonner. King *Charles VIII.* was the first Prince who (by the Assistance of several Grave Men, which had served him in the Expulsion of the *English* out of *Normandy* and *Guienne*) gain'd that Point of laying Taxes upon the Country at his Pleasure, without the Consent of the Three Estates of the Kingdom; but then the Occasions were great and indispensable to secure his new Conquests, and to disperse such People as were burthensom to the Kingdom: Upon which the Great Lords of *France* consented to what the King did, upon promise of certain Pensions in lieu of what should be levied upon them. Had this King lived long, and those who were then of his Council, without dispute he would have enlarg'd his Dominions considerable; but considering what has already, and what is likely to follow upon it. he has laid a great Load both upon his own, and the Souls of his Successors, and given his Kingdom a Wound, which will bleed a long time; and that was, by establishing a Standing Army, in imitation of the Princes of *Italy*. King *Charles* at his Death had Taxes laid upon all things in his Kindom, amounting to 1800000 Franks, with which he maintained about 1700 Men at Arms, to be constantly in Pay, and in the nature of Guards to preserve the Peace, and secure the Provinces in the Kingdom;

A.D.

1481.

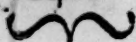


dom; by which means there was no Free Quarter, nor riding up and down the Country, which was a great Ease to the People. At the Death of our Master he had raised 4700000 Franks; of Men at Arms about four or five thousand Foot for the Camp, and above 25000 Standing Forces; so that 'tis no wonder if he entertain'd such Jealousies and Fears of his Subjects, and fancy'd he was not belov'd by 'em: Yet as he was fearful in this case, he had Confidence likewise in several who had been brought up, and received their Preferments under him; of which he might have found many that would have died before they would have forsaken him in any thing. In the first place, no Body was admitted into *Plessis du Parc* (which was the Place where he kept himself) but his Domestick Servants, and his Archers, which were 400, some of which kept constant Guard at the Gate, while others walked continually about to prevent its being surprized. No Lord, nor Person of Quality was permitted to lie in the Castle, nor to enter with any of his Retinue; nor indeed did any of them come in, but the Lord *de Beaujeu* the present Duke of *Bourbon*, who was his Son-in-law. Round about the Castle of *Plessis* he caused a Lettice, or Iron Gate to be set up, Spikes of Iron planted in the Wall, and a kind of Crows feet, with several Points to be placed along the Ditch, where-ever there was a Possibility for any Person to enter: Besides which he caused four Watch-houses to be made all of thick Iron, and full of Holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, and cost above 20000 Franks, in which he placed 40 of his Cross-bows, who were to be upon the Guard Night and Day, with Orders to let fly upon any Man that offer'd to come near before

The miserable Life that Lewis XI. led a little before his Death.

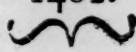
A. D.

1481.



the opening of the Gate in the Morning. He also persuaded himself that his Subjects would be mighty fond of divesting him of his Power, and taking the Administration of Affairs upon themselves, when they saw their Opportunity; and indeed there were some Persons about the Court, that consulted together how they might get in, and dispatch those Affairs, which at present hung in suspense; but they durst not attempt it, and they acted wisely; for the King had provided against every thing. He often chang'd the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and all the rest of his Servants, alledging that nothing was more delightful to Nature than Novelty. For Conversation, he kept only one or two with him, and those of inferior Condition, and of no great Reputation; who if they had been wise, might well think, as soon as he was dead, the best they could expect would be to be turn'd out of all their Employments; and so it happen'd. Those Persons never acquainted him, with any thing that was sent or writ to him, unless it concerned the Preservation of the State, and Defence of the Kindom; for he concern'd not himself for any thing, but to live quietly and peaceably with all Men. He gave his Physician 10000 Crowns a Month, and within the space of five Months he received of his Majesty above 54000. He also promised large Endowments to the Church, but it was never made good; for they were thought to have had too much already.

A Treaty between *Lewis XI. of France*,
and *Maximilian Duke of Austria*, as well
for himself as his Children, at *Arras*, Dec.
23. 1482.

1. **T**HERE shall be a perpetual Peace, Union A. D.
and Alliance between the King, Dauphin, 1482.
and Kingdom, their Countries, Territories and Subjects 
on the one part; and Duke Maximilian of Austria,
Duke Philip, and the Lady Margaret of Austria,
his Children, their Countries, Territories and Sub-
jects on the other; laying aside all Rancour and En-
mity towards one another, any or all manner of Injuries,
either in Word or Deed.

2. For the more firm establishing of the Peace, a
Treaty of Marriage is agreed to between the Dauphin,
the King's Son and Heir apparent to the Crown, and
the Lady Margaret of Austria, only Daughter of the
said Duke, and of the late Mary of Burgundy, only
Daughter of Duke Charles of Burgundy, to be so-
lemnized when the said Lady shall be of Age fit for it.

3. As soon as the Peace is proclaimed, the said La-
dy shall forthwith be conducted to Arras, and be put
into the Hands of Monsieur de Beaujeu, or another
Prince of the Blood authorized by the King for that
purpose; and the King shall take care to bring her up
as his eldest Daughter, the wife of the said Dauphin.

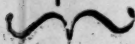
4. Upon the Delivery of the said Lady, Monsieur
de Beaujeu, &c. shall swear solemnly, in the Presence
of the Princes and Lords who shall conduct her, in the
King's Name, that the Dauphin, when she comes of
Age, shall take her in Marriage, and proceed to the
Consummation of the same.

5. The like Oath Monsieur de Beaujeu shall take
in the Name of the Dauphin, being authorized there-
unto by the King upon the account of his Youth.

6. In Consideration of this Marriage, the Duke of
Austria,

A. D.

1482.



Austria, and the States of his Country, agree in their own Names, and in that of Duke Philip, that the Countries of Artois, Burgundy, the Lands and Seignories of Masconnois, Auxerois, Salnis, Bar-sur-Sein and de Noyers, shall be given in Dower with her to the Dauphin, to be enjoyed by them, their Heirs by that Marriage, whether Male or Female, for ever ; but for failure thereof, to return to Duke Philip and his Heirs : And seeing these Countries, and the greatest part of the Province of Artois, are at present in the King's Possession ; it's agreed they shall be the Dowry and Inheritance of the said Lady, to be enjoyed by the Dauphin, her intended Husband, and her Heirs. But in case those Countries should come into any Hands than those of the Dauphin, and the Heirs of this Marriage, the King, Dauphin, and their Successors, Kings of France, may in that case retain the said Counties of Artois and Burgundy, with the other Seignories, till the King's Pretensions to Lisle, Doway, and Orchies are determined. And in case they are not adjudged to return to him, he and his Successors shall pretend no Right to them ; but the Earls and Countesses of Flanders shall enjoy them as formerly. Moreover, as soon as the said Lady shall arrive at Arras, she shall be there received and declared Countess of Artois and Burgundy, and Lady of the other Territories.

7. From thenceforward the said County of Artois, except the Castle and Bailiwick of St. Omer, shall be governed according to its antient Rights and Privileges, as well the Cities as the open Country, by and in the Name of the Dauphin, her future Husband ; and the Domain and Revenue, with the Officers and Justice and others, shall appertain to him.

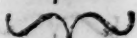
8. The same thing shall be done in respect to the County of Burgundy, and the other Seignories.

9. The King, at the request of the said Duke and States, to restore Arras to its antient Government un-

der

der the Administration of the Dauphin, by appointing Officers for that Purpose ; the King is content that the Dauphin shall do so.

A. D.
1482.



10. As to the Town, Castle, and Bailiwick of St. Omer, (which is in the Province of Artois) it's comprehended with the said County of Artois, in the Dower of the said Lady Margaret, and so shall be forthwith delivered into the Possession of the Dauphin, upon the compleating and consummating of the Marriage with her.

11. The Guarding and Government of the said Town, Castle and Bailiwick, from hence forward is to be put into the Hands of the Inhabitants, in order to be given up to the Dauphin, upon the Consummation of his Marriage ; and they shall make solemn Oath before the King or his Commissioners, that during the Minority of the Lady, they shall not deliver them up to the Duke of Austria, Duke Philip, or their Agents.

12. The like Oath shall be taken by them to the Duke of Austria, that they shall not deliver them up to the King, Dauphin, or their Agents, during the Minority, and till the Consummation of the Marriage.

13. For the better Support of the Town, the Domain thereof, &c. shall be apply'd towards it during the Minority ; neither shall the Town and Bailiwick pay the Tax called the Ordinary Aid of Artois.

14. As to the appointing of Officers, such as Bailiff, &c. the Duke, as Father of the Lady, shall have the Nomination during the said Time, and the Dauphin, as her intended Husband, the Institution : But if the said Lady should happen to die before the Consummation of the Marriage, the Inhabitants shall restore the Town, with its Appendixes, to the Duke of Austria, and Duke Philip his Son, or Successors.

15. The Privileges of the Town shall be maintained, and Justice administred in the same manner as formerly ; and the Estates of the Place shall take care to provide for the Guard of it.

A. D. 1482. 16. As to the neighbouring Forts and Castles, the Lords of them shall oblige themselves not to injure, but to assist them in the Defence of the same.

17. If a War should break out between the King and the Duke, they shall not intermeddle, or receive a Garrison from either.

18. It shall be free for the Inhabitants of all Conditions to go and traffick, or otherwise, into France, or the Dominions of the Duke of Austria, and other neighbouring Kingdoms and Countries.

19. Upon the surrendring of the Town up to the Dauphin, and the Lady Margaret, upon the Marriage, those Princes shall make Oath to maintain it, as a Member of the County of Artois, and the County of Artois in all its Privileges, as their Predecessors, the Counts and Countesses of Artois have done, without Innovation in the Government there.

20. The King consigns the Provision made for the Town by the late Dutchess of Austria, and the Duke her Husband, for the Discharge of the Debts and Rents due from it.

21. The King and the Dauphin oblige themselves to pay the Debts contracted by the Dutchess, the Duke of Burgundy her Father, and their other Predecessors, by mortgaging the Revenues of the said County.

22. The yearly Pensions assigned by the Dutchess, Duke Charles, &c. upon the Domain of the said Counties and Seignories of Burgundy and Artois, shall be continued.

23. In consideration of this Lady's Dowry, the King and Dauphin renounce all Claims and Pretensions upon the Dutchies, Counties, Goods, Moveables and Immoveables whatsoever, remaining after the Death of the Dutchess, the Lady's Mother.

24. In case, upon the account of Death, or otherwise, the said Marriage should not be consummated, the Dowry, and the said Counties and Seignories, shall be restored to the Duke of Austria; but at the same time

time with a Salvo to the King's Pretensions to the Towns and Chastellanies of Lisle, Doway, and Orchies.

A. D.

1482.

25. If after the Consummation of the Marriage, the Dauphin should die (whether he leaves Children or not by the said Lady) she shall enjoy the Counties of Artois and Burgundy as her Portion, and withal, 50000 Livres of Tournay yearly in Dower, assigned to her in Champagne, Berry, and Touraine.

26. If she should happen to die before the Dauphin, the Children shall succeed in those Territories that are her Portion; and in case there are no Children, they shall revert to the next Heirs.

27. Neither the King nor Dauphin shall during the Minority of Duke Philip pretend to have the Government of the said Countries of Brabant, Flanders, &c. but shall leave them in the Condition they are.

28. If Duke Philip should die under Age, and the said Lady becomes his Heir, the King and Dauphin shall agree, that the Government of the said Countries shall continue upon the same Foot.

29. In case Duke Philip die without Issue of his Body, and that his Dominions fall to his Sister, and her Heirs, who shall also be Heirs to the Crown of France, the King and the Dauphin shall engage, that the said Countries shall be maintain'd in all their ancient Rights and Privileges.

30. The King's Sovereignty over the Country of Flanders, is acknowledged by the Duke and the States, and Duke Philip, when he comes of Age, shall do Homage for the same in the usual Form.

31. The King confirms all the ancient and modern Privileges of the three Members of Flanders, and particularly the Towns and Corporations of the Country of Flanders, the Towns and Chatellanies of Lisle, Doway, and St. Omer.

32. The Inhabitants of Antwerp shall have also their Privileges maintain'd.

33. Customs and Tolls shall be paid as usual.

34. Mar

A. D.

1482.



34. Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy, Widow of the late Duke Charles, is comprehended in this Treaty, and she shall have the full Enjoyment of the Lands of Chauffins and La Pierriere, upon the repaying of 20000 Crowns in Gold to the Country of Burgundy; and in case, by the Death of the young Duke, those Countries should come into the Hands of France, she shall be maintained fully in her Dower and find all kind Assistance, as a Cousin and Relation, from the King and Dauphin.

35. A general Act of Indemnity is agreed to on both sides, in as ample manner as could be desired by Offenders.

36. The Subjects and Adherents of both Parties shall be re-instated in their Dignities, Benefices, Fiefs, Lands, Seigniories, and other Inheritances, Rents, &c. without being called in question for any Thing that happen'd during the War, and notwithstanding any Declarations, Confiscations, and Arrests, to the contrary whatsoever.

37. If the Inheritances of any Persons who follow'd the Fortune of the adverse Party have been sold in Court for the Payment of their Debts, they shall forthwith re-enter upon the Peace, and pay their Debts within a Year after; if not, the Order of Court shall stand.

38. In case the Debts were purely personal, for which the Inheritance of the Followers of the opposite Party have been sold; the Debtor shall return to his Inheritance without making any Compensation to the Purchaser.

39. The Subjects on both sides shall return to the Possession of their immoveable Goods, as well before the Troubles begun in Duke Charles's Time, as after.

40. As to the Profits and Income of Estates, which have been levied by the Commanders of the respective Parties, those that receiv'd them shall never be accountable for them, and no Prosecution in Law, upon that Account, shall take Effect against them.

41. All personal Debts granted by the Princes, or
pur-

pursuant to their Order, shall be theirs who had the Grant of them: As to all other Moveables in Being upon the Peace, they shall belong to those that had them before the War, without any Molestation, or any Impediment whatsoever.

A. D.
1482.



42. *The Town of St. Omer, and its Dependancies, are fully discharged of all Rewards, Remissions, &c. which have been granted them.*

43. *The Duke of Austria, and his Children, are by this Treaty fully discharg'd of all Debts, they may owe to those who adher'd to the contrary Party, and they and their Descendants shall ne'er be molested for them.*

44. *Upon returning to their Possessions, no body shall take any Oath to the Prince or Lord, under whom the said Possessions are, saving Vassals and Feoffees.*

45. *The Widow of the late Peter of Luxemburg, and the Ladies Mary and Frances, her Daughters, shall be restored to their Estates, as well those which they enjoy'd in the Life-time of Lewis de Luxemburg, Count of St. Paul, Madam Jane de Bar his Wife, and John de Luxemburg, Count of Marle, their eldest Son: In like manner, Monsieur de Croy, Count of Porcien, particularly to the County of Porcien, the Granaries belonging to the Castle of Cambarlay, Montcorner, and other Appenages, in the Seigniori of Bar-sur-Aube, and other Places in Picardy.*

46. *The King shall favour the Count de Romont, in his Pretensions to the County of Romont, and the County of Vaux; and as for the Princes and Princesses of Orange, the Count of Joigny, Liepart de Chalon the Lord of Lorme, Messieurs William de la Beaume, Du Lain, Claude de Thoulangeon, and the Sieur de la Bastie, they are comprehended in this Peace, and shall be repossessed.*

47. *In like Manner, the Monks of Anchin are restored to their Abbey; so are those of the Church and Abbey of St. Wast d'Arras, and the Inhabitants of Arras, whether they have withdrawn into the one or the*

A. D. the other Prince's Country, shall freely return home, and
 1482. follow their respective Occupations, without any Let or
 ~~~~~ Hindrance, as before the War.

48. The Heirs of those who have been put to death for adhering to the Party opposite to him under whom they liv'd, shall return to their Estates and succeed: The Widows also of such, shall have their Rights and Dowries.

49. As to Persons enjoying their own, they shall not be obliged to go and reside where their Estates are, either in the one or the other Countries.

50. The King consents to free the County of Artois, the Towns of Arras, Aire, Lens, Bapaum, Bethune, their Villages, and the Chastellany of Lilliers, from the Tax called, The ordinary Aid of Artois, and all other extraordinary ones, for the Space of six Years from the Day of the Date of the Peace. And seeing the late Dutchess of Austria hath exempted the Hospitals of Doway, &c. from paying any Taxes to the Country of Artois for their Inheritances; the King and Dauphin confirm the same Privileges.

51. Those who shall return to their Possessions shall not be accountable for any Rent due during the War; and the Lands, which by Reason of the War have been untill'd, shall have no Rent paid for them till next Christmas.

52. Those, who at their Entry upon Fiefs and Inheritances are obliged to pay Fines and other Duties to their Lords, shall have three Months allowed them to do it in, after the Peace, and so remain unmolested.

53. The Nobility and Feoffees of the Territories of the Duke of Austria, and his Son Philip, shall not be obliged to serve under any but them or their Lieutenants; and in case that they, or one of them, should be in the King's Service, if they are not there in Person, the other shall not be obliged to serve in Person, but may send another.

A. D.

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54. *The Decrees and Sentences made in the Court of Malines, as also of the Grand Council of the Dukes Philip and Charles, the Dutcheſs Mary and the preſent Duke, ſhall remain firm, and not be brought before the Parliament of Paris, or any other Sovereign Court. But thoſe Suits and Clauſes, which are not yet decided in the ſaid Courts, ſhall be brought before the Parliament of Paris, and there be determined.*

55. *In like manner Mortmains, Compoſitions, New Acqueſts, and Ennoblings, made by the ſaid Dukes and Dutcheſs, ſhall remain good; only the Subjects of the Country of Artois ſhall be obliged to take new Patents for their Nobility, which ſhall be granted without any Charge to them.*

56. *The Abolitions, Remiſſions and Pardons granted by Duke Charles, his Daughter, and the Dukes of Auſtria, to the Countries of Flanders, Liſle, Doway, Artois, and Burgundy, ſhall be valid, only the Subjects of Artois ſhall ſue them out as before.*

57. *The Inhabitants on the Frontiers of the Duke, and others ſubject to the French Crown, cited to appear in Perſon in the Court of Parliament, or before Royal Judges, ſhall appear only by their Proctors, during the Minority of the ſaid Lady; and the ſame Privilege is granted to St. Omer. Thoſe preferred to Livings by Duke Charles, his Daughter, &c. ſhall remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of them, notwithstanding any Pretence of a Pragmatick, or the like, to the contrary.*

58. *Tournay, Tournes, St. Amand, and Mortagne, &c. are comprehended in this Treaty; and any Places the King may have in the Dutchy of Luxemburgh, ſhall be reſtored to the Arch-Duke, and his Son Philip; ſo ſhall alſo the Houſes of Flanders, and of Conſlans, and the Houſe of Artois, in the ſaid Country.*

59. *After the Lady ſhall be delivered into the Hands of thoſe appointed to receive her for the Dauphin, the Troops, for the Benefit of Trade, ſhall be withdrawn by*



A. D. 1782. *by the King from the little Places on the Frontiers; and for the larger ones, the Garrisons shall be regulated to the Satisfaction of the Duke of Austria, and the States of the Country.*

60. *As for the Duke's desiring to have the King of England and Duke of Bretagne comprehended in the Treaty, it is answered, the English are in Truce with France, and for the Duke of Bretagne, the King is at Peace with him.*

61. *The King, after the Peace, will assist the Duke against William de Aremberg, a Ligeois, and all others that shall invade Brabant, &c.*

62. *The Duke's Subjects shall have all manner of Protection and Incouragement, in respect to Navigation and Commerce, with those of France.*

63. *Any Prizes taken after the Publication of the Peace shall be restored, for the Prevention whereof, the Peace shall on both sides be proclaimed without Delay.*

64. *Such as are Malefactors and Delinquents, after the Peace, shall be seized on both sides, and return'd to be punish'd by the Parties to whom they belong.*

65. *The Infractors and Violators of this Peace, be they who they will, shall be punished unfeignedly for an Example to others; in the Places where they are taken.*

66. *In case this Peace should any way be contravened, it shall not however be reputed an Infraction, or Rupture; but the Breach shall forthwith be made up, and Reparation made, without coming to Hostilities either by Sea or Land, before the King and the Duke's Ambassadors have met together to adjust the Difference in an amicable way.*

67. *It's agreed, that as soon as the said Lady is brought to Lille or Doway, and before she be conducted to Arras, the Promises and Sureties which follow shall be given the Duke and States: That in case the Dauphin do not accomplish the Marriage in due time, the said Lady shall be return'd, at the King or Dauphin's Charge, to her Father or Brother, in one of*

of the good Towns of Brabant, Flanders, or Hainault, in the Duke's Possession; and the King and Dauphin in that case, shall quit all Pretensions for keeping the Territories and Countries of Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, Masconnois, Auxerrois, the Lordships of Salms, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, and surrender them to the Duke in the Name of his Son Philip, while under Age, or to Philip when at Age; reserving only the Homage and Sovereignty to him.

A. D.

1482.

68. The King shall also, upon the Failure of the Marriage, renounce his Right to Lisle, Doway, and Orchies, and consent they shall belong for ever to the Counts and Countesses of Flanders.

69. The Signing, Sealing and Ratifying of all the Premises in ample and due form, shall be done by the Parties on either sides. The Treaty shall also be registred and verify'd in the Court of the Parliament of Paris, Chambers of Accompts, and of the Finances.

The rest of the Articles being meer Matter of Form, concerning the Observation of the Treaty, we shall omit them.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the King's sending for the Holy Man of Calabria to Tours, supposing he could cure him; and of the strange things that were done by the King during his Sickness, to preserve his Authority.



**A**MONG Men renowned for Devotion and Sanctity of Life, he sent into Calabria for one Friar Robert, whom for the Holiness and Purity of Conversion the King called the *Holy Man*; and in Honour to him our present King erected a Monastery at Plessis-du-Parc, in compensation for

A. D. 1482. for the Chappel near *Plessis* at the End of the Bridge. This Hermit at the Age of twelve Years, was put into a Hole in a Rock, where he liv'd three and forty Years and upwards, till the King sent for him by the Steward of his Household, in the Company of the Prince of *Tarento* the King of *Naples's* Son. But this Hermit would not stir without leave from his Holiness, and from his King, which was great Discretion in a Man so unexperient'd in the Affairs of the World as he was. He built two Churches in the Place where he lived ; he never eat Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Milk, or any thing that was fat, since he undertook that Austerity of Life ; and truly I never saw any Man living so holy, nor out of whose Mouth the Holy Ghost did more manifestly speak ; for he was illiterate, and no Scholar, and only had his *Italian* Tongue, with which he made himself so much admir'd. This Hermit passed through *Naples*, where he was respected, and visited (with as much Pomp and Ceremony, as if he had been the Pope's Legate) both by the King of *Naples* and his Children, with whom he convers'd as if he had been all Days of his Life a Courtier. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he was visited by the Cardinals, had Audience three times of the Pope, and was every time alone with him three or four Hours ; sitting always in a rich Chair placed on purpose for him (which was great Honour for a Person in his private Capacity) and answering so discreetly to every thing that was ask'd him, that every Body was extremely astonished at it, and his Holiness granted him leave to erect a new Order, called the *Hermits of St. Francis*. From *Rome* he came to our King, who paid him the same Adoration, as he would have done to the Pope himself, falling down upon his Knees before

*The Super-  
stition of  
Philip de  
Comines.*

*The first  
Institution  
of the Or-  
der of the  
Hermits  
of S. Fran-  
cis.*



fore him, and begging him to prolong his Life : A. D. 1482.  
 He reply'd as a prudent Man ought. I have  
 heard him often in Discourse with the King that  
 now is, in the Presence of all the Nobility of  
 the Kingdom ; and that not above two Months  
 ago, and it seemed to me, whatever he said or  
 remonstrated, was done by Inspiration ; or else  
 it was impossible for him to have spoken of some  
 things that he discoursed of, He is still living,  
 and may grow either better or worse, and there-  
 fore I will say nothing. There were some of  
 the Courtiers that made a Jest of the King's  
 sending for this Hermit, and called him the  
*Holy Man* by way of Banter ; but they knew not  
 the Thoughts of that wise King, and had not  
 seen what it was that induced him to do it.

Our King was at *Plessis*, with little Company  
 but his Archers, and the Jealousies mentioned  
 before, against which he had carefully provid-  
 ed ; for he left no Person, of whom he had any  
 Suspicion either in Town or Country ; but  
 he sent his Archers not only to warn, but to  
 conduct them away. No Business was commu-  
 nicated to him, but what was of great Import-  
 tance, and highly concerned him. To look  
 upon him, one would have thought him rather  
 a dead than a living Man. He was grown so  
 lean, it was scarce credible : His Clothes were  
 now richer and more magnificent than they had  
 ever been before ; his Gowns were all of Crim-  
 son Sattin, lin'd with rich Martins Furs, of which  
 he gave to several, without being demanded ;  
 for no Person durst ask a Favour, or scarce speak  
 to him of any thing. He inflicted very severe  
 Punishments for fear of losing his Authority,  
 as he told me himself. He removed Officers,  
 disbanded Soldiers, retrench'd Pensions, and  
 sometimes took them away quite ; so that, as

Lewis XI  
*affects to  
 wear fine  
 clothes in  
 his Illness.*

*Another  
 Instance  
 of the ty-  
 rannical  
 Temper of  
 Lewis XI.*

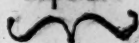
A. D. 1482. he told me not many Days before his Death, he pass'd away his Time in making and ruining Men, which he did in order to be talk'd of more than any of his Predecessors, and that his Subjects might take notice he was not yet dead; for few were admitted into his Presence (as I said before) and when they heard of his Figaries, no body could easily believe he was sick. He had Agents in all foreign Courts. In *England* their Business was to carry on the Treaty of Marriage, and pay King *Edward* and his Ministers of State their Pensions very punctually. In *Spain* their Instructions were to amuse that Court with fair Words, and to distribute Presents as they found it necessary for the Advancement of his Affairs. In remoter Countries, where he had no mind his Indisposition should be known, he caused fine Horses or Mules to be bought at any Rate, wherever; but this was not in *France*. He had a mighty Curiosity for Dogs, and sent into foreign Countries for them; into *Spain* for one sort, into *Bretagne* for another, to *Valentia* for a third; and bought them dearer than the People ask'd. He sent into *Sicily* to buy a Mule of a private Officer of that Country, and paid him double the Value. At *Naples* he caused all the Horses and strange Creatures to be bought up that could be found, and a sort of Lyons in *Barbary* no bigger than a Fox, which he called *Adits*. He sent into *Sweden* and *Denmark* for two sorts of Beasts those Countries afforded, one of them called an *Elk*, of the Shape of a Stag, and the Bigness of a *Buffle*, with short and thick Horns; the other called *Rengiers*, of the Shape and Colour of a Fallow Dear, but their Heads much larger; for each of which he gave the Merchants 4500 *Dutch* Florins. Yet when all these Rarities were brought to him, he never valu'd

Strange  
Fancies of  
Lewis XI.  
during his  
Illness.

valu'd them, and many times would not so much  
as see the Persons who brought 'em to Court. In short, he behaved himself after so strange and tyrannical a manner, that he was more formidable both to his Neighbours and Subjects than he had ever been before; and indeed that was his Design, and the Motive which induced him to act so unaccountably.

A. D.

1482.



CHAP. IX.

*Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Dauphin and Margaret of Flanders, and her being carried into France; upon which Edward IV. King of England, died with Indignation.*

**B**UT to return to our principal Design, the Conclusion of these *Memoirs*, and the Affairs of all the Illustrious Persons of the Age in which they were transacted, it is absolutely necessary for us to speak of the Conclusion of the Marriage between our present King (then *Dauphin of France*) and the Daughter of the Duke and Dutches of *Austria*, which was effected by the Mediation of the Citizens of *Ghent*, to the great Displeasure of the King of *England*, who found himself deluded in the Hopes he had entertained of marrying his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, of which Marriage both himself and his Queen were more ambitious than of any other Match in the World; and never would believe any Man, whether Subject or Foreigner, that endeavour'd to persuade 'em that our King's Intentions were not sincere and honourable. For the Parliament of *England* had remonstrated to them several times, when our King was in *Pi-*



A. D. 1483. *cardy*, that after he had conquer'd that Province he would certainly fall upon *Calais* and *Guynes*, which are not far off. The Ambassadors from the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Austria*, as alſo thoſe from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who were in *England* at that time, repreſented the ſame thing to him, but to no purpoſe; for he would believe nothing of it, and the Nation ſuffer'd for his Negligence and Incredulity: Yet I am intirely of Opinion it proceeded not ſo much from Ignorance as Avarice, as being afraid to loſe his annual Penſion of 50000 Crowns, which our Maſter paid very punctually; and beſides, he was unwilling to leave his Eaſe and Pleaſures, to which he was extremely given. There was a Conference at *Halots* in *Flanders* about this Marriage, where the Duke of *Austria* (now King of the *Romans*) was preſent, with ſeveral Commiſſioners from the three Eſtates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other Territories belonging to the Duke and his Children. There the *Gantois* acted ſeveral things contrary to the Duke's Inclination; they baniſhed his Officers, removed whom they pleaſed from about his Son, told him their Deſire to have the Marriage concluded, in order to Peace, and forced him to an Accommodation, whether he would or not. The Duke was very young, had but few about him that were proper to manage an Affair of that Importance; for all the brave Men belonging to the Houſe of *Burgundy* were either ſlain or revolted (as I ſaid before) or at leaſt the greateſt part, I mean of ſuch as were fit to be Stateſmen, and capable of adviſing him; ſo that coming thither with a ſmall Retinue, and having loſt his Dutcheſs, who was Sovereign in thoſe Provinces, he loſt much of his former Confidence, and durſt not ſpeak ſo boldly to his Subjects as when

she was alive. In short, the King was inform'd A. D. of all these Proceedings by the Lord *des Cordes*, 1482. was very well pleased, and a Day was set for the Young Lady to be conducted to *Hesdin*.

A few Days before, in the Year 1481, *Aire* *Aire sur-* was delivered up to the Lord *des Cordes*, by the *render'd* (a) Lord *de Cohem*, (born in *Artois*) for a Sum *to the* of Money, who had held it under his Captain *French,* (b) the Lord *de Beurs*, for the Duke of *Austria*, a good while. The Surrender of this Town, which was very strong, and situated in the *Artois*, at the very Entrance into their Country, spur'd on the *Flemings* to hasten the Marriage, for tho' they were well enough pleas'd at the Diminution of the Duke's Power, yet they did not care to have the King so near them upon their Frontiers. As soon as Measures were concerted, as I said before, Ambassadors were sent to the King from *Flanders* and *Brabant*; but all depended upon the *Gantois*, by reason of their Force, that the Duke's Children were in their Hands and they always the most forward in every Commotion: With them there came, in behalf of the King of the *Romans*, certain young Noblemen much about his own Years, and but indifferently qualified to make Terms of Peace for their Country: Monsieur (c) *John de Berghes* was one and (d) Monsieur *Baudouin de Lannoy* was the other, besides some few Secretaries. Our King was very ill, had no Inclination to be seen, and

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(a) *John de Berghes*, Lord of *Oleghain* and *Cohem*.

(b) *Philip de Burgundy*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, Governor of *St. Omers* and *Aire*; and afterwards of *Artois*, Son of *Anthony*, Bastard of *Burgundy*.

(c) *John de Berghes*, Lord of *Walbain*, and Knight of the *Golden Fleece*.

(d) He was Lord of *Molembais* and *Solre de Chateau*, and Knight of the *Golden Fleece*.

A. D.  
1482.

pretended great Difficulty to swear the Treaties in the manner agreed on; but it was because he was unwilling they should see him: However, he was persuaded, and swore them at last, being much to his Advantage; for whereas in all his former Overtures for the Match, he proposed only the County of *Artois*, or *Burgundy*, or which of the two they pleased to assign him: Now the States of *Ghent* (as he call'd them) were contented he should have both, and the Country of *Masconnois*, *Charolois*, and *Auxerrois* into the Bargain; and if they could have deliver'd them, he should have had *Hainault*, *Namur*, and all the Subjects of that Family, (whose Inhabitants spoke *French* naturally) on purpose to weaken their Sovereign. Our Master was a cunning Politician, and understood well enough, that *Flanders* was of little Importance to him, unless he could have *Artois* with it, which lies betwixt *France* and them; and is as it were a Bridle to the *Flemings*, affording good Soldiers upon occasion, to correct their Wantonness and Effeminacy; and therefore in taking from the Earl of *Flanders* the County of *Artois*, he should leave him the most inconsiderable Prince in *Europe*, without either Subjects or Authority, but by the Permission of the *Gantois*; whose Commissioners *William Rym* and *Coppenole*, whom I mention'd before, (Governors of *Ghent*) were at that time principal in the Embassy. Upon the Return of the Ambassadors, the Lady *Margaret* was conducted to *Hesdin*, and deliver'd into the Hands of the Lord *des Cordes* in the Year 1483. and with her (c) *Madam de Ravestein*, Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy's* natural Daughter: There were

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(c) *Anne de Burgundy*, second Wife of *Adolphus de Cleves*, Lord of *Ravestein*.

appointed



appointed, and ready to receive them; the present *Monsieur* and *Madam de Bonabon*, the Lord *d'Albret*, and others from the King; they brought her to *Amborse*, where the *Dauphin* attended her: If the Duke of *Austria* could have taken her from her Convoy, he would willingly have done it, before she had passed his Dominions; but the *Gantois* had plac'd too strong a Guard about her, for they began to abate much of their Obedience to him, and many considerable Persons join'd with them, as having the Custody of the young Heir, and Power of placing and displacing whom they pleased. Among the rest of the Nobility who were resident in *Ghent*, there was the Lord of *Ravestein*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, and chief Governor to the young Prince, whose Name is *Philip*, still living, and like to possess vast Territories, if it please God to spare his Life. But whoever was pleas'd with this Match, the King of *England* was highly affronted; for he thought himself deluded and baffled, and in danger of losing his Pension or Tribute, as the *English* call'd it. He feared likewise it would render him contemptible and mean at home, and occasion some Rebellion, because he had rejected the Remonstrances of his Parliament. Besides, he saw the King of *France* incroaching upon, and ready to invade his Dominions with a very great Force; which made such a deep Impression upon his Spirits, that he fell sick upon it immediately, and died not long after; tho' some say of a (b) Catarrh. But let them say what they please, the general Opinion was, the Consummation of this Marriage kill'd him in the Month of *April*

A. D.  
1483.

The Death  
of Edward  
IV. King  
of Eng-  
land.

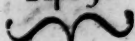
(b) There were various Opinions concerning this Prince's Death; some attributed it to Poison, others to Grief, but the Generality to a Surfeit, which is most probable.

A. D. 1483. 'Tis a great Fault in a Prince to be obstinate, and rely more upon his own Judgment, than the Opinion of his Council ; and sometimes it occasions such Losses and Disappointments as are never to be repair'd. Our King was presently inform'd of King *Edward's* Death ; but he still kept it secret, and express'd no manner of Joy upon hearing the News of it. Not long after, he receiv'd Letters from the Duke of *Glocester*, who was made King, stil'd himself *Richard III.* and had barbarously murder'd his two Nephews. This King *Richard* desired to live in the same Friendship with our King as his Brother had done, and I believe would have had his Pension continued ; but our King look'd upon him as an inhuman and cruel Person, and would neither answer his Letters nor give Audience to his Ambassador ; for King *Richard*, after his Brother's Death, had sworn Allegiance to his Nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and yet committed that inhuman Action not long after, and in full Parliament, caused two of (e) his Brother's Daughters (who were remaining) to be degraded, and declared illegitimate upon a Pretence which he justified by the (f) Bishop of *Bath*, who having been formerly in great Favour with King *Edward*, had incurr'd his Displeasure, was cashier'd, imprison'd, and paid a good Sum for his Releasment. This Bishop affirm'd, that King *Edward* being in love with a certain Lady which he nam'd, and otherwise unable to have his Desires of her, had promised her Marriage ; and caused him to contract them, upon which he enjoyed her, tho' his Promise was only to delude her : But such Delusions are dangerous, as

Richard  
III. an  
Usurper of  
the Crown  
of Eng-  
land, and  
Murderer  
of his two  
Nephews.

(e) There were at that time five of K. *Edward's* Daughters alive, viz. *Elizabeth*, *Cecely*, *Anne*, *Katharine*, and *Bridget*.

(f) Dr. *Thomas Stillington*.



the Effects frequently demonstrate. I have known many a Courtier who would not have lost a Fair Lady for all the Swearing in Christendom. This malicious Prelate smother'd this Revenge in his Heart near twenty years together, but it recoil'd upon himself; for he had a Son, whom he was extremely fond of, and to whom King *Richard* design'd to give a plentiful Estate, and to have married him to one of the young Ladies whom he had declar'd illegitimate, (who is now Queen of *England*, and has two fine Children.) This young Gentleman being at Sea by Commission from King *Richard*, was taken upon the Coast of *Normandy*; and upon a Dispute between those that took him, he was brought before the Parliament at *Paris*, put into the *Petit Chastellet*, and suffer'd to lie there till he was starv'd to Death: This King *Richard* himself reign'd not long, for God on a sudden rais'd him up an Enemy without Power, without Money, without Right, (g) (according to my Information) and without any Reputation but what his Person and Deportment contracted; for he had suffer'd much, been in Distress all the Days of his Life, and particularly as Prisoner in *Bretagne* to Duke *Francis* from the eighteenth Year of his Age, who treated him as kindly as the Necessity of his Imprisonment would permit. The King of *France* having supplied him with some Money, and about 3000

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(g) If no other Right is to be allow'd but what we call *Hereditary*, in the strict Meaning of it, 'tis certain *Henry VII.* had none; since he claim'd under his Mother, who was then alive, and even out-liv'd him, without ever renouncing; and if we should look farther back into his Descent, we should find it so far from being clear in his Favour, that quite the Contrary would appear to us from History.

*Normans,*



A. D. 1483. *Normans*, the loosest and most profligate Persons in all that Country, he passed into *Wales*, where his Father-in-Law the Lord *Stantley*, join'd him with 26000 Men at the least; in three or four days time he met the bloody King *Richard*, fought him, slew him in the Field of Battle, crown'd himself King of *England*, and reigns at this present time. I have discours'd on this Subject already, but it is not improper to mention it again, if only to shew that God in our times has taken Vengeance for such Cruelties immediately, without delaying his Judgments: Several other Princes besides have met with the same Reward, of their Villanies, in our days, had we but Leisure to enumerate them.

## CHAP. X.

*Of the King's Behaviour towards his Neighbours and Subjects during his Sickness; and of the several things that were sent him from several Parts, for the Recovery of his Health.*



Roussillon mortgaged to Lewis XI. by John II. King of Arragon for 30000 Crowns, in 1462.

AFTER the Consummation of this Marriage, which our King had so earnestly desired, the *Flemings* were perfectly at his Command: *Bretagne* (which he hated so much) was at Peace with him, but he kept them in great Awe by the Number of his Forces, which he quarter'd upon their Frontiers; *Spain* was quiet, and that King and Queen desired nothing more than to live in Peace and Amity with him, for he kept them likewise in perpetual Fear, and Expence about the Country of *Roussillon*, which he held of the House of *Arragon*, and had been given him by *John King*

King of *Arragon* (Father to the present King of *Castile*) as Security for some Conditions which were never perform'd. The Princes of *Italy* were all ambitious of and courted his Friendship, some of them were enter'd into an Alliance with him, and sent their Ambassadors often to his Court. In *Germany* the *Swiss* were as obedient as his own Subjects: The Kings of *Scotland* and *Portugal* were his Allies. Part of *Navarre* was perfectly at his disposal. His Subjects trembled at his Nod, and whatever he commanded was executed without the least Difficulty or Hesitation. Whatever was thought conducive to his Health, was sent to him from all Corners of the World. (a) Pope *Sixtus* (who died last) being inform'd that the King in his Devotion desired the Corporal or Vest, which the Apostle Saint *Peter* used, when he sung Mass; he sent it immediately, and several Reliques besides.

The Affairs  
of Lewis  
XI in a  
very prof-  
perous  
Condition.

The Holy Vial at *Rheims* (which was never stirr'd before) was brought to his Chamber at *Plessis*, and stood upon his Cup-board's Head when he died, for he design'd to be anointed with it again, as he was at his Coronation. Some were of Opinion, he design'd to have anointed himself all over, but that was not likely, for the Vial was but small, and no great Store of Oil in it. I saw it my self at the time I speak of, and also when he died, for he was interr'd in the Church of *Notre Dame de Clery*. The (b) Great *Turk* that now is, sent an Embassy to him, which came as far as *Riez* in *Province*, but the

The ridicu-  
lous Super-  
stition of  
Lewis XI.

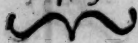
(a) *Innocent VIII.* succeeded him in the Year 1492. from whence one may guess pretty near, the Time when the Author compos'd these Memoirs.

(b) 'Twas *Bajazet II.* who succeeded his Father *Mahomet II.* in the Year 1481, and died in 1512.

King

A. D.

1483



King would not hear him, nor premit he should proceed any farther; though he brought him a large Roll of Reliques which had been left at *Constantinople*, in the Hands of the *Turk*; all which and a considerable Sum of Money besides, he offer'd to deliver into the King's Hands, if he would secure a (c) Brother of the *Turks*, who was then in *France*, in the Custody of the Knights of *Rhodes*, and is now at *Rome*, in the Hands of the *Pope*. From all which, one may be able to judge of the great Esteem and Character he bore in the World for Wisdom and Grandeur; when religious things dedicated only to Devotion, were employ'd for the lengthening of his Life, as well as (d) things temporal and secular. But all endeavours to prolong his Life prov'd ineffectual, his Time was come, and he must follow his Predecessors. Yet in one thing God Almighty, favour'd him in a peculiar manner; for as he had made him more prudent, liberal, virtuous, and greater in every thing than the contemporary Princes, who were his Neighbours and Enemies; so he suffer'd him to survive them, though it was not very long. For *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Dutcheß his Daughter, King *Edward* of *England*, Duke *Galeas* of *Milan*, and *John* King of *Arragon*, were all dead; but King *Edward*, and the Dutcheß of *Austria* a very little before him. In all of them, there was a Mixture of Bad as well as Good, for they were but Mortals. But without Flattery I may say of our King, that he was possess'd of more Qualifications suitable to the Majesty and Office of a Prince, than any of the rest, for I knew the

The Author's Character of Lewis XI.

(c) 'Twas Sultan *Zemi*, who was afterwards imprison'd by Pope *Alexander* VI. in 1494

(d) Some say he drank Children's Blood for the Recovery of his Health.

greatest



greatest Part of them, and was acquainted with most of their Transactions; so that I do not speak altogether by Guess or hear-say.

A. D.

1483.

CHAP. XI.

*Of King Lewis's sending for his Son Charles a little before his Death; and the Precepts and Commands which he laid upon him and others, before he departed.*

**I**N the Year 1483. the King had a great Mind to see the *Dauphin* his Son, whom he had not seen for several Years before; for besides his being of opinion it was for his Son's Health to have but few come near him; he was afraid lest he should be taken out of his Management, and give occasion for some Conspiracy against him, as had been done by him against his Father King *Charles VII.* when at (a) eleven Years old he was taken away by some Lords of this Kingdom, and engag'd in a War call'd *le Praguerie*, which yet lasted not long, and was rather a Court-Faction than a solemn War.

Above all things, he recommend to the *Dauphin* certain of his Servants, and laid his Commands expressly upon him not to change any of his Officers, declaring that upon the Death of his Father *Charles VII.* and his Accession to the Throne, he had imprudently turn'd out all the good Officers of the Kindom, both military and civil, who had assisted his Father in the Conquest of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, served him in the Expul-

*The Com-  
mands of  
Lewis XI.  
to the  
Dauphin  
his Son.*

(a) He must be at least eighteen Years old, for he died in the sixtieth or sixty-first Year of his Age, and was born at *Bourges* the 6th of *July*, in the Year 1423.

A.D. 1483. sion of the *English*, and contributed much to the Restitution of Peace and Tranquility; which rash Method of Proceeding proved highly to his Prejudice, for that was the Foundation of the War call'd the *Publick Good*, (which I mention'd before) and which had like to have cost him his Crown. After the King had given these Documents to his Son, and concluded the Marriage above-mention'd, upon a *Monday* his Fit seiz'd him, (of which he died) and held him till the *Saturday* following, which was towards the latter End of *August* 1483. at which time I was present, and therefore, I think my self oblig'd to say something of his Death. Not long after his being seiz'd with this last Fit, he was deprived of his Speech, as he had been formerly; and tho' he recover'd that again, yet he found himself much weaker, though indeed he was too weak before, had scarce Strength to lift his Hand to his Mouth, and was grown so meager and lean, every body that saw him pitied him. The King perceiving he had not long to live, call'd for the Lord *de Beaujeu*, (who married his Daughter, and is now Duke of *Bourbon*) and sent him to *Amboise*, to his Son the King (as he call'd him :) He recommended his Son to him: and all his Servants; gave him the Command and Government of the young King; and obliged him for several good Reasons, not to permit certain Persons to come near him; and had the Lord *de Beaujeu* observed his Commands strictly, or at least the best part of them, (for some were contradictory, and not to be observed) I am of opinion, considering what has since happen'd, it had been much better both for the Kingdom and himself. After this, he sent the Chancellor, with all that were under him, to carry the Seals to the King his Son. He also sent him a good

part

The last  
Commands  
of Lewis  
XI.

part of his Guards, his Captains, the Officers of his Hounds and Hawks, and all others which depends upon his Sports: He desired all that came to wait on him to go to *Amboise*, and pay their Respects to the King, (as he called him) begging of them to be faithful and true to him; and by every one he sent him some Message or other, but more especially by *Stephen de Vers*, who had lived all along with the young King in quality of first Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and was made Bayliff of *Meaux* by King *Lewis*. After the Recovery of his Speech, his Senses never fail'd him, and indeed were never so quick; for he had a continual Looseness upon him, which kept the Vapours from ascending to his Head. In all his Sicknes he never was the Man that complain'd, which most other People do when they are ill; at least I am of that Nature, and I have known several of the same Temper; and the common Opinion is, that complaining does alleviate our Pain.

*The Patience of Lewis XI. during his Sicknes*

## CHAP. XII.

*A Comparison of the Troubles and Sorrows which King Lewis suffer'd, with those he brought upon other People; with a Continuation of his Transactions till the Time of his Death.*



HE was continually discoursing on some Subject or another, and always with a great deal of Sense and Judgment. His last Fit (as I said before) continued from *Monday* to *Saturday*-night. Upon which Account I will now make Comparison between the Evils and Sorrows which he brought upon others, and what he suffer'd in his own



A. D. 1483. own Person : For I hope his Sufferings and Torments here on Earth, have translated him into Paradise, and will be a great Part of his Purgatory :

*Pains and Misfortunes ought to be consider'd according to the Quality of the Person that suffers.* And if in respect of their Greatness and Duration, his Sufferings were inferior to what he had brought upon other People ; yet if you consider the Grandeur and Dignity of his Office, and that he had never before suffer'd any thing in his own Person, but been obey'd by all People, as if all *Europe* had been created for no other End, but to serve and be commanded by him ; you will find that little which he endured, was so contrary to his Nature and Custom, that he was as great a Sufferer as any. His chief Hope and Confidence was plac'd in the Hermit I spoke of, (who was at *Plessis*, and came thither from *Calabria*) he sent continually to him, believing it was in his Power to prolong his Life if he pleas'd ; for notwithstanding all his Precepts and Recommendations to his Son, he had great Hopes of Recovering, and if it had so happen'd, he would quickly have dispers'd the Throng he sent to *Amboise*, to wait upon his Son. Finding his Thoughts were so intent upon this Hermit, it was the Advice of a certain grave Divine, and others who were about him, that it should be declar'd to him, that his Condition was desperate, that he did but flatter and delude himself, and that there was no hopes left for him but in the Mercy of God ; and it was also agreed among'em, that his Physician, Dr. *James Coëtier*, (in whom he had great Confidence) should be present, when this Declaration was made him : This *Coëtier* received of him every Month 10000 Crowns, as if that would have lengthen'd his Life. This Resolution was taken by Monsieur *Oliver*, to the End that he should lay aside all Thoughts of *Hermit* and *Doctor*, and apply himself.

A. D.

1483.

himself wholly to the Settlement of his Conscience. As he had advanc'd Monsieur *Oliver* and others, as it were in an instant, and against all Reason, to Employments beyond their Capacities; so they took upon them impudently to open an Affair to him, that had been more proper for other People; nor did they observe that Reverence and Respect towards him, which was proper in such a Case, and would have been used by those Persons who had been brought up with him a long time, and in a meer Whim had been lately remov'd from Court but a little before. But as he had sent a sharp Message of Death to two great Persons whom he had formerly beheaded, (the Duke de *Nemours*, and the Count de *St. Paul*) by Commissioners deputed on purpose, who in plain Terms told them their Sentence, appointed them Confessors, and acquainted them that in a few Hours they must resolve to die; so with the same Bluntness, and without the least Circumstance of Introduction, these imprudent Persons told him: *Sir, Things, are now come to that pass, we must do our Duties; Do not place your Hopes any longer in this Hermit, or any thing else, for you are a dead Man. Think therefore upon your Conscience, for that is the only Remedy you have left.* Every one added some short Saying to the same purpose; to which he answer'd, *I hope God will assist me, for perhaps I am not so sick as you imagine.*

What Sorrow was this to him to hear this News, this Sentence of Death? Never Man was more fearful of Death, nor used more things to prevent it than he? He had all his Life-long commanded and requested his Servants, and me among the rest, that whenever we saw him in any Danger of Death; we should not use any long Stories, but admonish him at a Distance to

Lewis XI:  
afraid to  
die.

A. D.  
1483.

confess himself, without ever mentioning that cruel and shocking Word *Death*, which he did believe he should not be able to bear with any tolerable Patience. However, he endured that and several more things as terrible, when he was ill, and indeed more than any Man I ever saw die. He spoke several things, which were to be delivered to his Son, whom he call'd King; confessed himself very devoutly, said several Prayers according to the Sacraments he receiv'd, and call'd for them himself. He spoke as judiciously as if he had never been sick, discoursed of all things which might be necessary for his Son's Instruction, and among the rest gave Orders that the Lord *des Cordes* should not stir from his Son in six Months; and that he should be desired to attempt nothing against *Calais*, or elsewhere, declaring that tho' he had design'd himself to undertake such Enterprizes as those, and with good Intention both to the King and the Kingdom, yet they were very dangerous, especially that of *Calais*, lest the *English* should resent it; and he left it in Charge, that for six or seven Years after his Death, they should above all things preserve the Kingdom in Peace, which during his Life he would never suffer. And indeed it was no more than was necessary; for though the Kingdom was large and fertile, yet it was grown very poor, upon the marching and counter-marching of the Soldiers up and down in their Motions from one Country to another as they have done since, and in a worse manner. He also ordered that nothing should be attempted against *Bretagne*, but that Duke *Francis* should be suffer'd to live quietly and in Peace, that both he and his Neighbours might be secure, and the King and Kingdom remain free from Wars, till the King should be of Age, to take upon him the Administration of Affairs himself.

\*  
—

You



You have heard with what Indiscretion and Bluntness they acquainted the King with his approaching Death; which I have mentioned in a more particular manner, because in a preceding Paragraph I began to compare the Evils, which he made several others suffer, who lived under his Dominion, with those he endured himself before his Death; that it might appear, tho' they were not perhaps of so long a Duration, that they were as great and terrible, considering his Station and Dignity, which required more Obedience than any private Person's and had found more; so that the least Opposition was a great Torment to him. Some five or six Months before his Death, he began to grow jealous of every Body (a,) especially of those who were most capable and deserving of the Administration of Affairs. He was afraid of his Son, and caused him to be kept close, so that no Man saw or discoursed with him, but by his special Command. At last he grew suspicious of his Daughter, and his Son-in-law the Duke of Bourbon, and required an Account of what Persons came to speak with them at *Plessis*, and broke up a Council which the Duke of *Bourbon* held there by his Order. At the time the Count *de Dunois* and his Son-in-law returned from conducting the Ambassadors, who had been at *Amboise* to congratulate the Marriage betwixt the *Dauphin* and the Young Queen, the King being in the Gallery, and seeing them enter with a great Train into the Castle, called for a Captain of the Guards, and commaded him to go and search

A. D.

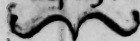
1483.

Lewis XI.  
grows jealous of his  
own Son  
and  
Daughter.

(a) It always happens, says *Seneca*, that those who endeavour to render themselves formidable to others, sooner or later feel the Effects of living in continual Fear and Apprehension; a dreadful Punishment no doubt of it, but it is what all Tyrants justly deserve.

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some of the Lords Retinue, to see whether they had any Arms under their Robes ; and that he should do it in discourse, and so as no notice might be taken. Behold then, if he had caused many to live under him in continual Fear and Apprehension, whether it was not returned to him again ; for of whom could he be secure when he was afraid of his Son-in-law, his Daughter, and his own Son ? I speak this not only of him, but of all other Princes who desire to be feared, that Revenge never befalls them till they grow old, and then, as a just Penance, they are afraid of every body themselves ; and what Grief do you think it must be to this poor King to be tormented with such Terrors and Passions ?

He was still attended by his Physician, Doctor *James Coëtier*, to whom in five Months time he had given 54000 Crowns in ready Money, besides the Bishoprick of *Amiens* for his Nephew, and other great Offices and Estates to him and his Friends ; yet this Doctor us'd him so scurvily, one would not have given such unbecoming Language to ones Servants, as he gave the King, who stood in such awe of him, he durst not forbid him his Presence. 'Tis true he complained of his Impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him, as he had done all the rest of his Servants ; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day, *I know some time or other you will remove me from Court, as you have done the rest ; but be sure (and he confirm'd it with an Oath) you shall not live eight Days after it.* With which Expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and present him, which must needs be a great Mortification to a Prince, who had been obey'd all along by so many brave Men much above the Doctor's Quality.

Lewis XI.  
betor'd  
by his Phy-  
sician.

The

The King had order'd several cruel Prisons A. D. 1483!  
to be made, some of Iron, and some of Wood, but covered with Iron Plates both within and without, with terrible Cages about eight Foot wide and seven high; the first Contriver of them was the Bishop of *Verdun*, who was (b) the first that hanſel'd them, being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen Years. Many bitter Curſes he has had ſince, for his Invention, and ſome from me, having lain in one of them eight Months together, in the Minority of our preſent King. He alſo order'd heavy and terrible Fetters to be made in *Germany*, and particularly a Cerrain Ring for the Feet, which was extream hard to be open'd, and like an Iron Collar, with a thick weighty Chain, and a great Globe of Iron at the End of it. moſt unreaſonably heavy; which Engines were call'd the *King's Nets*. However, I have ſeen many eminent and deſerving Perſons in theſe Prisons, with theſe Nets about their Legs, who have afterwards been advanced to Places of Truſt and Honour, and reciev'd great Rewards from the King: Among the reſt, a Son of the Lord *de la Grutaſe*, (who was taken in Battle) whom the King married very honourably afterwards, made him his Chamberlain, and Senefchal of *Anjou*, and gave him the Command of a hundred Lances. The Lord *de Piennes* and *Verger*, both Priſoners of War, had Commands given them in his Army, were made his or his Son's Chamberlains, and had great Eſtates given them. *Monſieur de Rochefort*, the Conſtable's Brother, had the ſame, as alſo one *Roquebertin*, a *Catalonian*, and Priſoner of War; beſides o-

Strange  
ſort of  
Cages in-  
vented by  
Lewis XI.

(b) *Perillus* heretofore was put into the Brazen Bull that he had made for the Tyrant *Phalaris*, to puniſh his Subjects in. *Plin: l. 34. ch. 8.*



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1483.



The miserable Confinement of Lewis XI. which he voluntarily suffer'd.

Lewis XI. still desirous to the last moment of absolute Power.

thers of several Countries, too numerous to be mentioned in this Place. This by way of Digression. But to return to my principal Design. As in his time this barbarous Variety of Prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater Torment, and more terrible Apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned, which I look upon as a great Mercy towards him, and part of his Purgatory; and I have mentioned it here, to shew that there is no Person, of what Station or Dignity soever, but is punished some time or other, either publickly or privately, especially if he has been the Cause of other Peoples Sufferings and Misfortunes.

The King towards the latter end of his Days caused his Castle of *Plessis-les-Tours*, to be encompassed with great Bars of Iron in the Form of a Grate, and at the Four Corners of the House four Watch-Towers of Iron, strong, massy and thick, to be built. The Grates were without the Wall on the other side of the Ditch, and went to the Bottom. Several Spikes of Iron were fasten'd into the Wall, set as thick by one another as was possible: He placed likewise ten Bow-men in the Ditches, to shoot at any Man that durst approach the Castle till the opening of the Gate; order'd they should lie in the Ditches, but retire to the Watch-Towers upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this Fortification was too weak to keep out an Army, or any great Body of Men, but he had no fear of such; his great Apprehension was, that some of the Nobility of his Kindom having Intelligence within, should attempt to make themselves Masters of the Castle by Night, and having possessed themselves of it partly by Affection, and partly by Force, should deprive him of the Regal Authority; and take upon themselves the

Admi-

Administration of publick Affairs; upon pretence he was incapable of Business, and no longer fit to govern. The Gate of *du Plessis* was never open'd, nor the Draw-bridge let down before eight in the Morning, at which time the Courtiers were let in; and the Captains ordered their Guards to their several Posts, with a Main Guard in the Middle of the Court, as in a Town upon the Frontiers that was closely besieged: Nor was any Person admitted to enter but by the Wicket, and those only by the King's Order, unless it were the Steward of his Household, and such Officers as were not admitted into the Presence.

Is it possible then to keep a Prince (with any regard to his Quality) more strictly confined than he kept himself? The Cages which were made for other People, were about eight Foot square; and he (tho' so great a Monarch) had but a small Court of the Castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that; but generally kept himself in the Gallery, out of which he went into the Chambers, and from thence to Mass, but not through the Court. Who can deny but he was a Sufferer as well as his Neighbours? considering his being locked up, guarded, afraid of his own Children and Relations, and changing every day those very Servants whom he had brought up and advanced; and tho' they ow'd all their Preferment to him, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up in those strange Chains and Inclosures. If the Place where he confined himself was larger than a common Prison, his Quality was as much greater than a common Prisoners. It may be urg'd that other Princes have been more given to Jealousy than he, but it was not in our time; and perhaps their Wisdom was not so eminent, nor

A. D. 1483. their Subjects so good. They too might probably be Tyrants, and bloody-minded, but our King never did any Person a Mischief who had not offended him first. I have not recorded these things purely to represent our Master as a suspicious and mistrustful Prince; but to shew, that by the Patience which he expressed in his Sufferings (like those which he inflicted on other People) they may be look'd upon, in my judgment, as a Punishment which God inflicted upon him in this World, in order to deal more mercifully with him in the next, as well in those things before-mention'd, as in the Distempers of his Body, which was great and painful, and much dreaded by him before they came upon him; and likewise that those Princes, who are his Successors, may learn by this Example, to be more tender and indulgent to their Subjects, and less severe in their Punishments than our Master had been. I will not accuse him, or say I ever saw a better Prince; for tho' he oppress'd his Subjects himself, he would never see them injur'd by any body else.

*A fine Exhortation to Princes.*

After so many Fears, Sorrows, and Suspicions, God, by a kind of Miracle, restored him both in Body and Mind, as is his Divine Method in such kind of Wonders. He took him out of the World in perfect Ease, Understanding, and Memory; having call'd for all the Sacraments himself, discoursing without the least Twinge, or Expression of Pain, to the very last Moment of his Life. He gave Directions for his own Burial, appointed who should attend his Corps to the Grave, and declared that he desired to die on a Saturday of all Days in the Week; and that he hop'd our Lady would procure him that Favour, in whom he had always placed great part of his Trust, and served her devoutly. And so



it happen'd; for he died on Saturday the Thirtieth of *August*, 1483. about Eight at Night, in the Castle of *Plessis*, where his Fit took him on the Monday before. His Soul, I hope, is with God, and enjoys an everlasting Rest in the Kingdom of Paradise.

A. D.

1483.

CHAP. XIII.

*A Digression concerning the Miseries of Mankind, especially of Princes, by the Example of those who reign'd in the Author's Time, and first of King Lewis.*

**S**MALL Hopes and Comfort, ought poor and inferior People to place in the Riches and Honours of this World, considering what our King suffer'd and underwent to obtain them, and was at last forced to leave them all, and could not with all his Care and Diligence protract his Life one single Hour. I knew him, and was entertain'd in his Service in the Flower of his Age, and the Height of his Prosperity, yet I never knew him free from Labour and Care. Of all Divertions he loved Hunting and Hawking in their Seasons, but his chief Delight was in Dogs. As for Ladies, he never meddled with any in my Time; for about the Time of my coming to Court he lost a Son call'd *Joachim*, who was born in 1459. for whose Death he was exreamly afflicted, and made a Vow in my Presence never to be concern'd with any other Woman but the Queen; and though this was no more than what he was obliged to, by the Canons of our Church, yet it was much, that his Command of himself would be so great, that he

*The ordinary Diversions of Lewis XI.*

*His Vow of conjugal Chastity.*

should

A.D. 1483. should be able to continue his Resolutions so firmly, considering the Queen, (tho' an excellent Princess in all other Respects) was not a Person in whom a Man could take any great Delight.

Lewis XI.  
a great  
Lover of  
Country-  
Sports.

In Hunting, his Eagerness and Pain were equal to his Pleasure, for his Chace was the Stag, which he always run down: He rose very early in the Morning, rode sometimes a great Way to his Dogs, and would not leave his Sport, let the Weather be never so bad; and when he came home at Night was always very weary, and generally in a violent Passion with some of his Courtiers, or Huntsmen; for Hunting is a Sport not always to be manag'd according to the Master's Direction; yet in the Opinion of most People, he, understood it as well as any Man of his Time: He was continually at his Sports, lying up and down in the Country-Villages as his Recreations led him, till he was interrupted by the War, which for the most Part of the Summer was constantly between him and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and at Winter they made a Truce. He was also involved in some Trouble about the County of *Roussilon*, with *John King of Arragon*, Father of *Peter of Castile*, who at present is King; for tho' both of them were poor, and already incumbered with their Subjects in *Barcelona* and elsewhere, and the Son had nothing but the Expectation of Succeeding after the Death of *Don Frederick de Castile*, his Wife's Brother (which fell to him afterwards) yet they made considerable Opposition; for that Province being intirely devoted to their Interest and being universally belov'd by the People, they gave him abundance of Trouble, and the War was spun out till that King's Death, in which several brave Men lost their Lives, and his Treasury was exhausted; so that he had but a little

a little Time during the whole Year, to spend in Pleasure, and even then the Fatigues he underwent were troublesome to him. When his Body was at rest his Mind was at work, for he had Affairs in several Places at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his Neighbours as his own, putting Officers upon all the great Families, endeavouring to divide their Authority as much as possible. When he was at War he laboured for Peace or a Cessation, and when he had obtained them, he was as impatient for War. He troubled himself with many Trifles in his Government, which he might better have let alone; but it was his Temper, and he could not help it; besides, he had a prodigious Memory, he forgot nothing, but knew every body, as well in other Countries as in his own.

A. D.  
1483.  
*The restless and ambitious Temper of Lewis XI.*

And certainly he seem'd to be born for universal Monarchy rather than to govern a single Kingdom: I speak not of his Minority, for then I was not with him. But when he was Eleven Years old, he was by the Advice of some of the Nobility, and others of his Kingdom, embroil'd into a War with his Father *Charles VII.* which lasted not long, but was called *La Praguerie*. When he was arriv'd to Man's Estate, he was married much against his Inclination to the King of (a) *Scotland's* Daughter; but he never had the least Tenderness or Affection for her during the whole Course of her Life. Upon her Decease, by reason of the Broils and Factions in his Father's Court, he retir'd into *Dauphine* (which was his own) whither many Persons of Quality

*A short Account of the Life of Lewis XI.*

(a) Her Name was *Margaret*, she was Daughter to *James I.* King of *Scotland*. She had a loathsome Complexion, and a stinking Breath, which were the two Reasons why *Lewis XI.* never lov'd her.



A. D. follow'd him, and indeed more than he could  
1483. entertain. During his Residence in *Dauphine* he

married the (b) Duke of *Savoy's* Daughter, and not long after had great Difference with his Father-in-law, and a terrible War was begun between them. His Father King *Charles VII.*, seeing his Son attended with so many good Officers, and raising Men at his Pleasure, resolved to go in Person against him, with a considerable Body of Forces in order to disperse them. As he was upon his March, he put out Proclamations, requiring them all, as his Subjects, under great Penalty, to repair to him; and many obey'd, to the great Displeasure of the *Dauphin*, who finding his Father incens'd, resolved to retire, and leave that Country to him; and accordingly remov'd with but a very slender Retinue into *Burgundy* to Duke *Philip's* Court, who received him honourably, furnish'd him nobly, and maintain'd him, and his principal Servants by the way of Pensions, as the Count (c) *de Comminges*, the Lord *de Montauban*, and others; and the rest he presented as he saw Occasion, during the whole Time of their Residence there. However, the *Dauphin* entertain'd so many at his own Expence, that his Money often fail'd, to his great Disgust and Mortification; for he was forced to borrow, or his People would have forsaken him, which is certainly a great Affliction to a Prince who was utterly unacquainted with those Courses: So that during his Residence at that Court too, he had his Anxieties, for he was constrained to flatter and fawn upon the Duke and his Ministers, lest

The great  
Necessities  
of Lewis  
XI. when  
Dauphin  
of France.

(b) *Charlotte*, Daughter of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*, married to *Lewis XI.* in the Year 1457.

(c) *John Bastard of Armagnac*, created Marshal of France in the Year 1461.

they

they should think he had been too burdensome, and had laid too long upon their Hands, for he had been with them six Years, and his Father *K. Charles* was still pressing and solliciting the Duke of *Burgundy*, by his Ambassadors, either to deliver him up to him, or to banish him out of his Dominions. And this you may believe gave the *Dauphin* some uneasy Thoughts, and would not suffer him to be idle: In which Season of his Life then was it, that he may be said to have enjoy'd himself? I believe from his Infancy to his Death, his whole Life was nothing but one continued Scene of Troubles and Fatigues; and I am of Opinion, that if all the Days of his Life were computed in which his Pleasures out-weigh'd his Pain, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant. He lived about sixty one Years, yet he always fancied he should never out-live sixty, giving this for a Reason, that since the Time of *Charles le Grand* there had not any King of *France* lived beyond that Age; but he was far advanc'd in his sixty-first.

What Ease, what Pleasure, did *Charles Duke of Burgundy* enjoy, more than our Master King *Lewis*? In his Youth indeed he knew but little Trouble, for he did not begin to enter upon any Action, till the two and twentieth Year of his Age; so that before that Time, he liv'd in great Ease and Quiet. His first Quarrel was with his Father's Chief Officers; and the Father taking their Part, he immediately withdrew from Court, retired in a Huff into *Holland*, where being well received, he fell immediately into Intelligence with the *Gantois*, and went and visited them sometimes. He had no Allowance from his Father; but *Holland* being a rich Country, they made him great Presents, as several other great

*The Life of Charles Duke of Burgundy.*

Towns

A. D.

1583.



Towns did ; hoping thereby to insinuate themselves into his Favour, and reap the Advantage after Duke *Philip's* Death. And 'tis the common Custom of the World to adore the rising Sun, and court him whose Authority will be greater, rather than him who is already at the Height, and can never be higher. For this Reason, as soon as Duke *Philip* was inform'd, that the *Gantois* had express'd a great Kindness for his Son, and that he understood how to manage it : He answer'd, *They always love him who is to be their Sovereign ; but as soon as he is invested with the Power they hate him as much.* And his Saying was true, for from the Time of Duke *Philip's* Death, and *Charles's* Possession, their Love began to decline, and they shew'd it to the Purpose ; and he on the other side car'd as little for them ; yet they did more Mischief to his Posterity than they could possibly do to him. But to continue these Memoirs. From the Time Duke *Charles* undertook his War for the Towns in *Picardy*, (which our Master had redeem'd from D. *Philip*) and join'd himself with the Lords of the Kingdom in the War call'd the *Publick God* : What Pleasure, what Tranquillity had he ? He had continual Trouble and Labour, without the least Cessation or Refreshment, either to his Body or Mind ; for Glory having got the entire Possession of his Heart, it spurr'd him on to attempt new Conquests, and invade the Dominions of those Princes that border'd upon his : He was always in the Field during Summer, exposing his Person to the greatest Danger, taking the Care and Command of the whole Army upon himself ; and yet he thought it too little. He was the first that rose, and the last that went to bed in the Camp ; and took as much Pains as the poorest Foot-Soldier in the Army. In Winter, when the Campaign was  
over



over, his Mind was busily employ'd about raising of Money ; six Hours every Morning he set apart for Conferences, and giving Audience to Ambassadors, and in this perpetual Hurry of Affairs he ended his Days, and was kill'd by the *Swiss* in the Battle of *Nancy*, as you have already heard ; so that it cannot be said, that he enjoy'd one happy Day, from the Time of his setting up for Conquests to the Hour of his Death, and then what were the Fruits of all his Pains and Labour ? Or what Necessity was there of it, since he had Towns and Territories large enough already to have made him happy, if he could have been contented.

A. D.  
1483.  
*The Ambition of Princes the Destruction of their Subjects.*

The next whom we shall have occasion to mention, is, *Edward IV.* King of *England*, a great and powerful Prince : In his Minority he saw his Father the Duke of *York* defeated and slain in Battle, and with him the (d) Father of the Earl of *Warwick*, who govern'd the King in his Youth, and manag'd all his Affairs, and to say the Truth, it was the Earl of *Warwick*, who made *Edward* King, and dethron'd his old Master King *Henry VI.* who had reigned many Years in that Kingdom, and (in my Judgment, and the Judgment of the World) was their lawful King : But in such Cases, the Disposition of Kingdoms and great States, is in the Hands of God, who orders them as he pleases, for indeed all things proceed from him. The Reason of the Earl of *Warwick's* espousing the Interest of the House of *York* against King *Henry*, who was of the *Lancastrian* Family, was, upon a Difference that happen'd at Court, betwixt the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Warwick*, The King not

*The Life of Edward IV. King of England.*

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(d) *Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.*

having

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1483.



*Parties among Ladies diverting; but among Men dangerous to a Nation.*

having Wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that Height, that the (e) Queen (who was of the House of *Anjou*, and Daughter to *René* King of *Sicily*) interposed in it, and inclin'd to the Duke's Party, against the Earl of *Warwick*; for every Body had acknowledg'd *Henry* his Father, and Grandfather, for their King. The Queen had acted much more prudently in endeavouring to have adjusted the Dispute between 'em than to have said, *I am of this Party, and will maintain it*; and it prov'd so by the Event, for it occasion'd many Battles in *England*, and a War which continued nine and twenty Years, and in the End all the Partizans of both Sides were destroy'd: So that Factions and Parties are still very fatal, especially to the Nobility, who are too prone to propagate and foment them. If it be alledg'd that by this Means both Parties are kept in Awe, and the secret Minds of the Subject are discovered to the Prince; I agree a young Prince may do it among his Ladies, and it may be pleasant and diverting enough, and give him Opportunity of finding out some of their Intrigues; but nothing is so dangerous to a Nation as to nourish such Factions and Partialities among Men of Courage and Magnanimity; 'tis no less than setting ones own House on Fire; for immediately some or other cry out, *The King is against us*, seize upon some fortified Town, and correspond with his Enemies. And certainly the Factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* ought to make us wise in this Case; for they begun a War which lasted seventy two Years, in which the

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(e) Her Name was *Margaret*, who after the Death of her Husband *Henry VI.* returned into *France*, where she died, and made over her Right to the Kingdom of *Sicily* to *Lewis XI.*

*English* were concern'd, and thought by these unhappy Divisions to have conquer'd the Kingdom. But to return from this Digression. This King *Edward* was a very young Prince, and one of the most beautiful of his Age: As soon as he had over-come all his Difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to Pleasures, and took no Delight in any thing but Ladies, Dancing, Entertainments, and such like effeminate Diversions; and in this voluptuous Course of Life, if I mistake not, he spent about sixteen Years, till the Quarrel happen'd between him and the Earl of *Warwick*, in which Contest, tho' the King was driven out of the Kingdom, yet his Misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly return'd, fought his Adversary, defeated and kill'd him, and re-assuming the Government, fell again to his Pleasures, and indulg'd himself in 'em after a more violent manner than before. From this time he fear'd no body; but living a luxurious Life, he grew very fat, and his Excess inclining him to Diseases, in the very Flower of his Age he died suddenly (as 'twas reported) of an \* Apoplexy, and his Family lost the Kingdom, (as you have heard) as to the Succession in the Male Line.

A. D.  
1483.  
*The Quarrel between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy, from 1392 to the Reign of Charles VI.*

In our time also there reign'd two wise and valiant Princes, *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and *Mahomet Ottomau*, Emperor of the *Turks*: This *Matthias* was the Son of a valiant young Gentleman call'd (f) *The White Knight of Walachia*, a Person of great Honour and Conduct, who for a long Time had govern'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and had fought several Battles with the *Turks*,

*The Life of Matthias King of Hungary.*

\* See the Note in Page 71.

(f) 'Twas so that they call'd the famous *John Corvin*, alias *Hunniades*.



A. D. 1483. who are Neighbours to it, by reason of the Territories which they have usurped in *Sclavonia* and *Greece*. Not long after his Death (g) *Lancelot* came to Man's Estate, who was Heir to that Kingdom, and to the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Poland* besides. This *Lancelot* was advised by some Persons (as was reported) to seize upon the two Sons of the *White Knight*, pretending that their Father having usurped and exercised so much Power in that Kingdom during his Infancy, it was not improbable but his Sons might do the same. Upon which the said *Lancelot* resolved to have them both apprehended, and his Orders were accordingly obey'd. He put the eldest to death, and sent the other, which was (h) *Matthias*, a Prisoner to *Buda*, the chief Town in *Hungary*, but he did not remain long under that Confinement: (God Almighty being perhaps pleased with the Services of his Father) for a while after, this *Lancelot* was poison'd at *Prague* in *Bohemia* by a Lady of Quality, (whose Brother I have seen) he had been in Love with her, and she with him; but being incens'd at his Marriage in *France*, with the (i) Daughter of King *Charles VII.* (called now the Princess of *Vienne*) which was contrary to his Engagement to her, she poison'd him in a Bath as he was eating an Apple, by conveying the Poyson into the Haft of his Knife. Upon the Death of *Lancelot*, the Barons of *Hungary* assembled at *Buda* for the Election of a King, ac-

(g) Or *Ladislaus*.

(h) *Matthias Corvin*, Son of *John Hunniades*, was chosen King of *Poland*, at the Age of Eighteen, after the Death of *Ladislaus*, about the Year 1458.

(i) Her Name was *Magdalen*, Daughter to King *Charles VII.* afterwards married to *Gaston de Foix* Prince of *Vienne*.

cording

According to an Ancient Priviledge they had when he died without Issue. Whilst they were mightily divided, and in great Controversie about the Election, the Widow of the *White Knight*, and Mother of *Matthias*, enter'd the Town in a very splendid Equipage, (for she was rich) especially in ready Money, which her Husband had left her, by the Power of which she was able to raise Men immediately; and besides 'tis not improbable but she had a Party in the Town, and among the Electors, upon account of the Services and Authority of her Husband. As soon as she came into the City, she march'd directly to the Prison, and (k) releas'd her Son, upon which part of the Barons and Prelates that were assembled fled out of the Town, and those that remain'd chose this *Matthias* for their King, who reign'd among them in great Prosperity, with as much Applause and Esteem as any of his Predecessors, and in some things more. He was a Man of as much Courage as any of that Age; and obtain'd many signal Victories over the *Turks*, without any Loss to his own Kingdom, which he much enlarged as well on that side as towards *Bohemia*, which was most in his Possession) as in *Wala-*

A. D  
1483.

(k) Other Historians differ extremely from *Philip de Comines*, in this particular; for they make no Mention of *Matthias's* being releas'd out of Prison by his Mother, but say, that King *Ladislaus* being hated by the *Hungarians* retir'd into *Bohemia*, and took this *Matthias* along with him as a Prisoner; where soon after the King died of Poison that was given him by a *Bohemian* Lady, according to our Author. After the Death of King *Ladislaus*, *George Boiebrac* usurp'd the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and kept *Matthias* still a Prisoner at *Prague*; but the Nobility of *Hungary* having chosen him to be their King upon the Account of his Father's eminent Services, sent to this *Boiebrac* to demand his Releasment, who not only set him at Liberty, but gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and sent him into *Hungary*, with a splendid and numerous Retinue-

H 2

chia,

A. D. 1483. *chia*, (where he was born) and *Sclavonia*; on that side towards *Germany* he took the greatest Part of *Austria* from the Emperor *Frederick*, and kept it till his death, which happen'd in *Vienna*, the chief City of *Austria*, 1491. He was a Prince who manag'd his Affairs discreetly both in Peace and in War. Towards the latter End of his Days, finding he was become formidable, he began to affect Grandure and a splendid Way of Living, and provided a world of rich Hangings Jewels, and Plate for the Ornament of his Palace, All his Business relating to the publick was dispatch'd by himself, or his Direction: He had also an Inclination to make himself terrible to his own Subjects, and turn'd a very Tyrant towards his latter End; after which he fell into a grievous and incurable Distemper as it were in his Youth (for he was but (l) eight and twenty Years of Age) and died. His Life having been one continued Scene of Labour and Sorrow, without any considerable Pleasure or Ease.

The Life  
of Mahomet  
Ottoman Em-  
peror of the  
Turks.

The Great Turk (whom I mention'd before) was a wise and valiant Prince, but he made more use of his Cunning than Courage: His Father was a valiant Prince, took *Adrian ple* (that is to say the City of *Adrian*) and left his Son very great, but his Son at the Age of twenty-three took *Constantinople*, or the City of *Constantine*: I have seen his Picture drawn at that Age, which represented him vigorous and sprightly. It was a great Shame and Reflection upon all Christendom to suffer that City to be lost: He took it by Assault, and the (m) Emperor of the East (which we called Emperor of *Constan-*

(l) This Place is certainly corrupted. For *Matthias* was born the 24th of February, 1443. and died the 4th of April, at *Vienna*, in the Year 1491, So that by this Computation he was eight and forty Years old, and therefore this 28 Years ought to be 48.

(m) *Constantine II.* Son of *Manuel*.

*tinople*



tinople) was slain at the Breach: Many brave Men were killed with him in this Assault, many great Ladies ravished, and all manner of Cruelties committed. This was his first Exploit; but he continued to perform wonderful Actions, and so many, that I heard a *Venetian* Ambassador say once in the Presence of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, that this *Mahomet* had conquered two Empires, four Kingdoms, and two hundred Cities; he-meant indeed the Empires of *Constantinople* and *Trebisonde*; the Kingdoms of *Bosnia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, and I think *Morea* was the fourth. He conquered likewise several fair Islands in the *Archipelago* (where the *Venetians* have two) as *Negropont* and *Mitylene*: Besides which, he subdued most part of *Albania*, and *Sclavonia*; and as his Conquests were great over the Christians, so were they no less considerable over those of his own Religion; among whom he destroy'd several great Princes, as the Prince of (n) *Caramania*, and abundance of others too tedious to mention here. The greatest

A.D.

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(n) In some *French* Books, 'tis *Carnia*, in others *Carmenia*, but certainly it should be *Caramania*, which is a Sea-Province on the South-East of *Natolia*, containing the old Provinces of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pisidia*, and part of *Cilicia*. For the better Understanding of this Passage, and who this *Caramanian* Prince was, it will be necessary to acquaint the Reader, that about the Year 1290. four illustrious Families, to wit, the *Ottomans*, *Assemblecs*, *Scandelors*, or *Candelors*, and the *Caramans*, with powerful Armies commanded by their respective Captains came out of *Persia*. Every one of these Families conquer'd some Province or another: The *Ottomans* subdued *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*: The *Assemblecs*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*: The *Scandelors* possess'd themselves of the greatest part of *Pontus*; And the *Caramans* of *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. But the *Ottoman* House at last swallowed up the other three. This *Mahomet* conquer'd the *Assemblecs* in the Year 1459. However, it was

A. D.

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greatest Part of his Affairs were transacted by himself, according to the Practice of our King, and the King of *Hungary*, who were without all dispute the wisest Princes that had reign'd for a hundred Years before. But the Generosity of our Master's Conversation, and his Liberality to his Servants, as well foreign as others, distinguish'd him very much from the rest, and made him more venerable than either of the other two, and it is no Wonder, for he was styl'd the most *Christian King*. As to worldly Pleasures and Enjoyments, this *Turk* had his Share; and spent most of his time in them, and 'twas well he did so; for otherwise he would have done more Mischief to Christendom, had he not been so employ'd. He indulg'd his Genius in all Kinds of Sensuality, and was strangely given to Gluttony, which brought him to an ill Habit of Body, and occasion'd a numberless Train of Diseases, which continued upon him as long as he lived. Every Spring he had a Swelling in one of his Legs, that made it as big as a Man's Mid-

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some considerable Time before these People could be subdued, for their King *Usumcassanes* fought three bloody Battles with *Mahomet*; in two of which he got the better of him; but in the third, *Mahomet*, by the Help of Cannon, which was utterly unknown to the *Eastern Nations*, entirely defeated *Usumcassanes's* Army, and slew his Son *Zeinalde* in the Field of Battle. After this Defeat, *Mahomet* conquer'd *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, took *Trapezonde*, the Seat of the *Assembecs* Empire, with the greatest part of *Armenia* and *Syria*, as is mention'd in our Author. After this, *Mahomet* took the greatest part of *Cilicia* from *Pyramitus*, Prince of the *Caramans*; and after the Death of *Mahomet*, his Son *Bajazet* slew *Abraham*, the last Prince of the *Caramans*, in Battle, and utterly destroy'd that Family. As for the *Scendelors*, after the Destruction of the *Assembecs* and *Caramans*, their Prince surrender'd his Country to *Bajazet*, who gave him in lieu of it, certain Revenues in *Natolia*.

dle (as I have heard from those who have seen it) which never broke, but dispers'd of its own Accord, and no Surgeon could tell what to make of it, but all agreed his Intemperance was the Occasion of it, tho' perhaps it was a Judgment from Heaven; and one Reason why he suffer'd himself to be seen so seldom, and shut himself up in his Chariot when he went abroad, was, lest he should discover that Infirmary, and grow contemptible to the People. He died about the 52d Year of his Age, and suddenly; yet he made a Will, and I have seen it, and if it be true, he seemed to have some Remorse for a Tax which he had lately laid upon his Subjects. Let Christian Princes consider what they do, since they have no more Power to raise Money without the Permission and Consent of their Subjects than he.

A. D.

1483.

*A fine Lesson for Princes,*



## The AUTHOR's Conclusion.

**T**HUS have you seen the Death of several illustrious Persons in a short time, who have born so much Sorrow and indured so many Fatigues, only to extend their Dominions, and advance their Fame and Glory, beyond that of their neighbouring Monarchs; perhaps not only to the shortning of their Lives, but to the endangering the Welfare of their immortal Souls. I am not speaking here of the Turk, for I question not but that he is gone to his Predecessors; but of our King and the rest, of whom I hope God will have Mercy. But to speak freely (as one that is no great Scholar, but has had some Experience in the World) would it



not have been better for them, and for all other great Princes and Subject whatever, to be less ambitious in all their Desires; that is, not to be so solicitous and careful about temporal Things, and have such vast and unreasonable Designs in view; but to be more cautious of provoking God, oppressing their Subjects, and invading their Neighbours, by so many cruel and unchristian Ways, as I have said before, and rather employ their Time in Tranquillity and innocent Diversions? Their Lives would be longer, their Infirmities the later, their Deaths less desirable to other People, and less terrible to themselves. Can we desire any clearer Examples to prove how poor and inconsiderable a Creature Man is; how short and miserable his Life; and how little Difference betwixt Princes and private Persons; since as soon as they are dead, whether rich or poor, their Bodies are abominable, all People fly and shun them; and their Souls are no sooner separated, but they repair to receive their Doom, which is given by God at that very Instant of Time, according to every Man's Works; and this is called, The Particular Judgment.





A  
**SUPPLEMENT**  
 TO THE  
*Memoirs of Philip de Comines.*

CONTAINING  
 The most Remarkable Occurrences,  
 both in FRANCE and other neighbouring  
 KINGDOMS, from the Death of LEWIS XI.  
 to King CHARLES VIII's Expedition to  
 Naples, viz. from 1483. to 1493, or  
 1494.

CHAP. I.

*Of King Charles's Accession to the Crown, the  
 Death of Monsieur Oliver, King Lewis's  
 Barber, and others; and of the Resump-  
 tion of King Lewis's exorbitant Grants.*



PON the Death of *Lewis XI.* who  
 died the thirtieth of *August*, in the  
 Year 1483. his only Son *Charles VIII.*  
 then *Dauphin* of *France*, came to the  
 Crown. He was but thirteen Years  
 and two Months old, when his Father died; and  
 therefore the Solemnity of his Coronation was de-  
 ferred till the *June* following, that he might be  
 full

A. D.  
 1483.

*King  
 Charles's  
 Accession  
 to the  
 Throne.*

A. D. 1483. full fourteen before he was crown'd. The King his Father had educated him at *Amboise* in such a private and solitary Way, that none but his Domesticks were ever permitted to have Access to him; neither would his Majesty suffer him to learn any more *Latin*; than this single Sentence, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; not that he had any Aversion to human Learning, but only out of Fondness and Paternal Care, he was afraid that too great an Application to his Studies might weaken and spoil the delicate and tender Constitution of the Prince. However, King *Charles*, after his coming to the Crown, grew extremely desirous of Learning; applied himself very closely to the Reading of History, and other Books of Humanity in the *French* Language, and even endeavour'd to make himself Master of the *Latin*.

The Execution of some Persons, that had been guilty of notorious Crimes in the late King's Reign.

Before the King's Coronation, the Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility of the Kingdom, (who had so often been injur'd and affronted in the late King's Reign, by *Oliver le Dain* his Barber, one *Daniel a Fleming*, Monsieur *Oliver's* Servant, and Monsieur *John Doyace*, who had managed the Affairs of the whole Kingdom during part of the Reign of *Lewis XI.*) caus'd Informations secretly to be exhibited against them, for several Murders, Rapines, and other enormous Offences, which they had formerly committed; though some of them were by the express Command of the late King. These Informations being brought before the Court of Parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their Process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemn'd to Death: And the Year following, which was 1484. Monsieur *Oliver* and his Servant *Daniel*, were executed at *Paris*; and Monsieur *Doyac* had his Ears cut

†

off,



off, and his Tongue bor'd through. One of the Crimes committed by Monsieur *Oliver*, and his Servant *Daniel*, and for which they were executed, was this: A certain Gentleman was committed to Prison by the Order of *Lewis XI.* and having a very young and beautiful Lady for his Wife, Monsieur *Oliver* falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her Husband by his Intercession, provided she would consent to prostitute her self to his loose Desires. Accordingly she did; but instead of performing his Promise, the very next Day he order'd his Servant *Daniel* to put him into a Sack, and throw him into the *Seine*, where he was drown'd. This *Oliver* was by Birth a *Fleming*, had been Barber to King *Lewis*, and of greater Power and Authority with the King, than any Nobleman in *France*. This Power and Influence which he had over the King, was gain'd by vile and slavish Offices about his Royal Person, too low to mention here; but among the rest, he generally us'd to suck his Majesty's Piles, with which he was terribly afflicted; and this base and loathsom Office he perform'd, not out of any Love or Respect to the King, but through Avarice, and an Ambition to maintain his Power and Credit at Court; which ended immediately upon the Death of his Master, as you have already heard, notwithstanding the strict Charge the King gave his Son upon his Death-bed, to continue his Favour to Monsieur *Oliver*; and not to suffer what he had generously given him, to be taken from him, since by his Service, his Life had been long preserv'd. But notwithstanding Princes in their Life-time support and countenance such base and scandalous Ministers, and how ready soever such may be to execute their Masters unlawful and arbitrary Commands;

yet

A. D.

1483.

A. D. 1483. *A Resumption of the exorbitant Grants of Lewis XI.* yet at last they find that Credit at Court is no Inheritance; and that God, who leaves no Villany unpunish'd, finds a Time to reward them according to their Deserts. Besides, immediately after the Death of *Lewis XI.* a strict Enquiry was made into all the exorbitant and superstitious Grants that were made by him in his Life, all which were resum'd; and whatever Lands, had been alienated from the Crown, were united to it again.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Assembly of the States held at Tovers; of the Duke of Orleans's pretending to the Regency of France; of the Civil War rais'd by him, and of his retiring into Bretagne.*

A. D. 1484.

*A free Assembly of the Three Estates of the Kingdom at Tovers.*



THE King, in the *July*, after his Coronation, which was in the Year 1484. held a general and free Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, at *Tovers*, after a far different manner from what had been done in the Reign of his Father, who summon'd none but such as were of his own chusing, and in the Court-Interest, neither durst any of the Members speak their Minds freely; but in all Matters of Debate the whole Assembly were forced to act entirely according to the King's Will and Pleasure. Which generally was violent and arbitrary: But at this Convention there was a glorious Appearance of the Nobility, Commons and Clergy; their Votes were free and unbiass'd; and every Member had the Liberty to remonstrate, and complain freely of

of whatever Injury or Injustice (contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and the Customs of their Ancestors) they had received in the late King's Reign. In this Convention it was unanimously agreed upon, that there should be no Regent chosen in *France*, but that *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu*, the King's eldest Sister, should be entrusted with the Government of his Royal Person; according to the last Will and Testament of his Father *Lewis XI.* and that the Privy Council should consist of twelve Persons chosen out of the Body of the Nobility, by whose Advice the whole Affairs of the Kingdom should be transacted and dispatch'd, but all in the King's Name, and under his Hand and Seal. After this *John* Duke of *Bourbon* was created *Constable* of *France*, and by degrees the Affairs of the whole Kingdom were entirely manag'd by the Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu*, upon the account of her having the Government, of her Brother in her own Hands.

A. D.

1484.

However, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, being the next Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, by the Persuasion of some that were about him, who expected great Preferment, if the Administration of Affairs was in his Hands; and especially at the Instigation of the Count *de Dunois*, Son of *John* commonly call'd the Bastard of *Orleans* (a Person of an enterprising Genius and a subtle Wit) remain'd still at *Paris*, and came daily into Council, notwithstanding the Resolution of the three States; and with that Boldness, as plainly shew'd him to be a Person from whom 'twas impossible to hide any of their Designs and Intrigues. This Assurance of the Duke of *Orleans* did not a little displease the Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu*; upon which the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal *de Rieux*, and the rest of the Barons of *Bretagne*, that were Exiles at that time in *France*, under-

*The Duke of Orleans, by the Instigation of the Count de Dunois, pretends to the Regency, and occasions great Disturbance in the Kingdom.*



A. D. 1484. standing how Affairs went, came to the Dutchess of *Beaujeu*, and offer'd their Service to her and the King; at which the Duke of *Orleans* was highly incens'd. Besides, the Duke us'd his utmost Endeavours to vilify and disparage her Female Administration; but it did not much prevail upon the People, because the Duke himself was not (yet four and twenty Years old, and still under his Mother's Guardainship; and it seem'd unreasonable to place him at the Helm of Affairs, who was not capable to manage his own private Concerns; so that the same Reason hinder'd him from the Government at this time, that exclud'd his Grandfather heretofore, during the Lunacy of *Charles VI*. But this Reason did not satisfy the Duke nor his Friends; upon which the Dutchess of *Beaujeu* finding that the Duke of *Orleans* continu'd still at *Paris*, and daily brought over by his cunning Insinuations, those that were in Authority, to his own Party; (endeavouring by that means to obtain the Regency of the Kingdom) sent certain Persons, by the Advice of the Privy Council, to *Paris*, to arrest his Person. The Duke being inform'd of their Designs as he was playing at Tennis, immediately withdrew; (and pretending to go to his Palace) leaves *Paris* attended only by one *Guyot Pot*, and *John de Louen* one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, and lay that Night at *Pontoise*. The next Morning he went to *Vernueil*, and from thence to *Alençon*, where he staid some time; during which he endeavour'd to draw the Count d'*Angoulesme*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Lord d'*Albret*, over to his Party; and at last they all declar'd themselves for him, and unanimously resolv'd to stand by him, and support him in this Undertaking, with their Lives and Fortunes. All these great Lords, (who

(who had considerable Places in the Government) were immediately remov'd, upon their declaring for the Duke of *Orleans*; however, they rais'd a considerable Army out of the Vassals of their own Territories, and contriv'd the Matter so nicely, as to gain the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Count *de Foix*, over to their side. The Duke of *Orleans*, being assisted by these Princes and Lords, assembled his Army at *Blois*, with a design to march directly to *Orleans*; but the Citizens of that Place finding their Duke was coming thither, with a design to surprize it and make it the Seat of the War, shut their Gates upon him, and would not suffer him to enter it. Upon this Refusal, he march'd with an Army of about 400 Men at Arms, and a good Body of Foot to *Bougençey* being attended by the Counts *de Dunois* and *Foix*, and other French Officers, where they halted for some time, and whither the King sent a considerable Body of Forces to besiege them; but finding the Place not to be of any great Strength in it self, and not in a good Posture of Defence at that time, and perceiving that the Male-contents of the Kingdom did not come into 'em as they expected they would have done, they immediately clap'd up a Peace with the King; by the Articles of which it was agreed, that the Duke of *Orleans* should make his Submission to the King; and that the Count *de Dunois*, who was the Contriver and Fomenter of this Rebellion, should depart the Kingdom; which he did, and retir'd to *Asti*. But notwithstanding this Peace, the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Count *d'Angoulesme*, who had rais'd their Armies on purpose to assist the Duke of *Orleans*, march'd towards *Borges*; whither the King follow'd with a numerous Army, accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, who was forced

A. D.  
1484.

The Duke of Orleans, by the Assistance of some discontented Lords, raises an Army.

The Citizens of Orleans shut the Gates against him.

The Duke of Orleans makes his Peace with the King.

A. D. 1484. to take Arms against his Friends and Allies. The two Armies were now in sight of each other, and nothing less than a Battle was expected; however, by the Wisdom and Management of the Marshal de Giè, and the Lord de Graville, (two Persons of great Authority in the French Court during the Dutchess of Beaujeu's Administration) a Peace was concluded between the King and his Nobility, in which the Lord d'Albret was comprehended; and after this manner all these Armies separated without any Bloodshed; and the King retir'd to *Amboise*, the Duke of Orleans to *Orleans*, and the Count de Foix with the Cardinal his Brother, to the Duke of Bretagne at *Nantes*, who had married their Sister. This Rebellion was call'd the *Mad War*, and happen'd in the Year 1485.

A. D. 1485. Immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace the Count de Dunois return'd from *Asti*, and retir'd to his own Town of *Partenay* in *Poitou*, which was at that time strongly fortified with a double Ditch and a triple Wall. The King having Intelligence of this, and of his adding new Fortifications to the Town, and knowing him to be a cunning enterprising Person, sent to the Duke of Orleans (who was then at *Orleans* diverting himself with Jufts and Tournaments) to come to him at *Amboise*. After three or four Messengers, the last of which was the Marshal de Giè, the Duke of Orleans went to *Blois*, and the next day, being Twelfth-Eve, in the Year 1485. he left *Blois* early in the Morning with his Hawks, pretending he went to fly 'em in the Fields, and without stopping by the way, rode that day to *Fronteraux*, of which his Sister was then Abbess; from thence he went to *Cliffon*, and from *Cliffon* to *Nantes*, where he was honourably receiv'd by the Duke of Bretagne. This



This was the second time of the Duke of Orleans's coming into *Bretagne*, as by the sequel of this short History will more plainly appear. The King having Intelligence of his leaving *Blois* in this clandestine manner, resolv'd to besiege the Count *de Dunois* in his Town of *Partenay*, and found a way (before the Secret was discover'd) to draw over to his Party, the Marshal *de Rieux*, and the other Barons of *Bretagne*, who were retir'd to *Chateaubrian* to the Lady *de Laval*, who was Mistress of it: For the Duke of *Bretagne*, by the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Count *de Dunois*, endeavour'd to be reveng'd of the said Barons, for the Death *Peter Landois*, Treasurer of *Bretagne*, of which we shall say something in the following Chapter.

A. D.

1485.

CHAP. III.

Of the Civil Wars in *Bretagne* between the Duke and his Nobility; and of the Death of *Peter Landois*, Treasurer of *Bretagne*.

**A**BOUT the same time, or a little before, that the *Mad War* happen'd in *France*, a Disturbance of the same nature broke out in *Bretagne*, tho' not with the same Success. The Seeds of this Rebellion were sown in the late King's Reign but did not spring up for fear of a foreign War, (with which *Lewis XI.* always threaten'd the *Bretons*) till after his Death. But all Apprehensions a foreign Invasion being then vanish'd; the Fire, which upon this Occasion was first kindled, began to break out. Monsieur *Chauvin*, Chancellor of *Bretagne* (a very worthy Person) died miserably in the Castle of *L'Hermitte*, where the Duke had imprison'd him, at the

Some Disturbance in *Bretagne*, and the Occasion of it.

A. D. 1485. Request and Instigation of his Treasurer, Monsieur *Peter Landois*, a Hosier's Son of *Tours*, who after the Treasurer's Death entirely govern'd and manag'd the Duke at his pleasure. This so highly affronted the Nobility; that some of 'em, to wit, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal de *Rieux*, and several others (who were then at *Nantes*, and hated this *Landois*, as being the Occasion of the Chancellor's Death) enter'd into a Conspiracy against him, and for the better executing their Design, they watch'd an Opportunity to surprise him, either in the Castle with the Duke, or in his own House call'd *Pabotiere*, about a Mile from *Nantes*; in order to which they divided themselves into two Bodies, with one of which they besieged his House, and with the other enter'd the Castle; and that they might be sure to prevent his Escape, they shut up the Gates, search'd every Corner of the Castle, not so much as sparing even the Duke's Chamber, into which they violently rush'd, as believing that Monsieur *Landois* might be retir'd thither by way of Safety and Protection. But he, being a Mile from *Nantes* in the above-mention'd House, had time enough to make his Escape at a Back-gate, before it was surrounded; and so sav'd himself that time. Immediately there was a great Uproar in the Town, for one of the Duke of *Bretagne's* Servants, who was let down the Castle Wall by a Rope, upon the Nobility's entering the Castle, made a great Noise and Distrubance, aggravating the Heinousness of the Attempt, and affirming that the Castle was storm'd, the Duke assaulted, and his Person in imminent Danger, unless he was speedily succor'd. The poor deluded Citizens (being ignorant that this Attempt was made only for the surprising of Monsieur

*Peter Landois*) immediately arm'd themselves, and with great Fury ran to the Castle; threatening to put all the Nobility to the Sword, of whom not one durst appear upon the Walls, to speak to the enraged Multitude, who had planted Cannon against the Castle; and resolv'd to seize upon whomever appear'd, except the Duke himself. At last the Duke, attended by his Nobility, shew'd himself to the People; who presently fell on their Knees before him, expressing abundance of Joy and Satisfaction at his being safe, and out of danger; and thus was the Insurrection ended in a moment, and every one departed quietly to his House.

A. D.

1485.

*The Nobility of Bretagne banish'd for their Insolence to their Duke.*

Tho' the Duke was so gracious as to pardon the Nobility, yet they were immediately banish'd *Bretagne*, upon which they retir'd into *France* to *Charles VIII.* as you have already heard. After the Pacification of these Troubles, *Monsieur Peter Landois* recover'd his former Credit and Interest with the Duke; and prevail'd with him to write to his Cousin-german the Duke of *Orleans*, to desire the Favour of him to come into *Bretagne*, which he did by the Persuasion of the Count *de Dunois*, who endeavour'd to devorce him from the King's Sister, and marry him to *Anne*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s eldest Daughter and Heir; which also happen'd after the Duke of *Orleans* came to the Crown, though it was not accomplish'd at that time. The Duke of *Orleans*, accompanied by the Duke of *Alençon*, arriv'd at *Nantes*, after the the abovemention'd Insurrection, in *April* 1484. where they were honourably receiv'd by the Duke of *Bretagne*, who made heavy Complaints to 'em of the Insolence offer'd him by the Prince of *Orange* and the Marshal *de Rieux*; and desir'd their Assistance to revenge himself on



A. D. 1485. those two Lords, which they promis'd him in general Terms, and then took their Leave of him, to go to *Rheims* to King *Charles's* Coronation. After this some Difference happen'd between the King and the Duke of *Orleans*; but at last Matters were amicably adjusted in the Year 1485, as you have already heard.

The Designs of  
Peter  
Landois,  
Treasurer  
of Bre-  
tagne.

Monfieur *Peter Landois*, seeing the Duke his Master in Alliance with the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Orleans* and his Faction at Peace with the King, was resolv'd to be reveng'd of his Enemies; and prevail'd upon the Duke of *Bretagne* to publish a Proclamation, commanding all the Houses of the Nobility that were in the abovemention'd Conspiracy, to be raz'd; and to put it in execution, an Army was rais'd in the Duke's Name, to raze *Anceux* where the Prince of *Orange* and the Count *de Commings* were retir'd; who having Intelligence of it, by the Assistance of their Friends, and the banish'd Lords, rais'd also another Army to oppose the Designs of Monfieur *Peter Landois*; but when these two Armies came to face each other, the Remembrance and Love of their Native Country alter'd their Resolutions so, that they threw down their Armes, and embrac'd each other like Friends. After this mutual and friendly Agreement, the Prince of *Orange* and the Count *de Commings* were restor'd to the Duke's Favour, and to the Administration of Affairs under him; so that the whole Storm fell upon Monfieur *Landois* alone, whom (knowing him to be in the Castle) they immediately resolv'd to seize upon, even tho' he were in the Duke's Armes. Upon this Resolution, one (whom the Nobility and Commons had by Consent chosen to be their New Chancellor) went by Compulsion, and acquainted the Duke, that nothing but his deli-  
vering

vering up Monsieur *Peter Landois* would appease the Tumult; and that they would proceed against him only in Form of Law, without doing any thing to him, till his Cause was fairly heard and examin'd into. After this manner, and upon these fair Promises he was surrender'd to 'em, immediately imprison'd, and for Form's sake examined. Several heinous Crimes were objected against him, and in the End he was condemn'd and executed, before ever his Trial was known to the Duke, who design'd to have granted him his Pardon, however, the Proceedings of the Court went; and to prevent that, his Execution was hasten'd. This Action (which the Duke esteem'd as an high Affront offer'd to himself in particular) render'd the Nobility more odious to him than they were before. The Duke created a new Chancellor, and to oppose his Nobility, very kindly receiv'd the Duke of *Orleans*, who about the same time retir'd out of *France*, to his Court, with several of his Faction; upon which the Nobility being greatly alarm'd, fled a second time into *France*, where the King (design'd to make War upon the Duke of *Bretagne* for entertaining the Duke of *Orleans*) willingly received them into his Service, and enter'd into an Alliance with 'em, as in the End of the last Chapter you have already heard. There was a Report that the Duke of *Orleans* had a Design to get himself divorced from the Lady *Jane*, the King's Sister, who was forced upon him against his Inclinations, by *Lewis XI.* and to marry *Anne*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s eldest Daughter and Heir; the Hopes of which Match was the Occasion of his Journey into *Bretagne*: But the Lord d' *Albret* had entertain'd also great Hopes of that Match, which drew him into the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Service; nay he had even

A. D.

1485.

Peter  
Landois  
deliver'd  
up to the  
Nobles of  
Bretagne.

He is con-  
demn'd  
and exe-  
cuted  
without  
the Duke  
of Bre-  
tagne's  
Knowledg.

Assurances of the Marriage, under the Hands of all the Nobility that were with the Duke of *Bretagne*, except the Duke of *Orleans*.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Of the King's making War in Bretagne, and the Count de Dunois's Embassy to the King for Peace,*

A. D.  
1486.

*Transac-  
tions in  
Bretagne.*



THE only thing that the banish'd Nobility of *Bretagne* desired, was, to be recall'd, and to remain in Peace and Quiet in their own Country. The King's Desire on the other hand, was, to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Bretagne* for entertaining and protecting the Duke of *Orleans* in his Rebellion against him. To carry on his intended Design against *Bretagne*, the King enter'd into an Alliance with these Noblemen, and to assist them, rais'd an Army and commenc'd a War against the Duke of *Bretagne* in the Year 1486. This Army invaded *Bretagne* in three several Parts: The Lord de *St. Andrè*, with a Body of four hundred Lances, and five or six thousand Foot, penetrated into *Bretagne* on one side; the Count de *Montpensier*, with a considerable Detachment, on another; and *Lewis de la Trimouille*, Viscount of *Tovars* (who had married the Count de *Montpensier*'s Sister) in a third. So that the Province of *Bretagne* had three *French* Armies in it at once, with whom also the above-mention'd Barons join'd, and by their Interest occasion'd several Castles in *Bretagne* to be surrender'd to the King's Forces, at which the Duke was extremely surpriz'd; but the Duke of *Orleans*, the Counts de *Dunois* and *Comminges*, who were with him, us'd all their Arguments to encourage and keep up his Spirits, and under pretence of a Marriage



to be concluded between the Lady *Anne* his eldest Daughter, and the Lord *d' Albret*, who had the Command of a hundred Lances, and was capable of raising a considerable Body of Foot in *Gascony* and *Guienne* (where he had large Possessions) they persuaded the Lord *d' Albret*, to join with 'em, who presently left the King's Service, and came into the Duke's. However, the Duke of *Bretagne* leaving *Nantes* in the possession of his Cousin the Prince of *Orange*, retir'd to *Malestroit*, a Castle of great Strength, where he assembled an Army of six hundred Lances and sixteen thousand Foot, in order to relieve *Ploermel* (about three or four Leagues from *Malestroit*) which the King had besieged. While the Duke's Army was marching towards *Ploermel*, one of the Officers began to talk after a mutinous manner, saying, *he knew no Reason for this War; neither could he tell the Design of it; affirming that their Duke was govern'd and manag'd by the French, and they made the Bretons, at their pleasure, revenge French Quarrels upon the French; and therefore he persuaded them to return home to their Wives and Children, and not venture in other Peoples Quarrels, to lose their Lives so ridiculously.* This Speech so intimidated and discourag'd the whole Army, that they separated immediately, and returned every Man to his own Home; by this means, for want of being reinforced, the Garrison of *Ploermel* was forc'd to surrender upon Terms: Yet, notwithstanding the Articles of Capitulation to the contrary, the Town was plunder'd, the most substantial Inhabitants made Prisoners, and a considerable Ransom demanded for 'em. The Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and the rest of the Lords that were with them at *Malestroit*, being inform'd of the Separation and Return of their Army, as also of the Sur-

A. D.

1486.

A. D. 1487. render of *Ploermel*, went to *Vennes*, on *Whitsun-Eve*, in the Year 1487. whither the King's Army pursued them so closely, that they had scarce time to get a Ship-board, and sail to *Croisick*, and from thence up the River *Loire* to *Nantes*, being forced to leave part of their Baggage behind them at *Vennes*, which surrender'd immediately after they had left it, without any manner of Resistance. Sometime after the Taking of this Town, the *French* in a small Skirmish, at a Place call'd *Jove*, between *Chateaubrian* and *Nantes*, defeated a great Body of *Bretons*, under the Command of *Amaulry de la Mossy*, near *Nantes*; the King himself was at *Ancenix* at that time. After the taking of *Vennes*, the King's Army march'd to *Nantes*, which he invested on the 19th of *July*, in 1487. within the Town there was the Duke of *Bretagne* and his two Daughters, *Anne* and *Isabella*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Ladies *de Laval* and *Chateaubrian*, the Bishop of *Nantes*, the Count *de Comminges*, and several other Lords; all which left the Castle, and took up their Lodgings in the Town. The People of the Town having some Jealousy of the Bishop, and the Lady *de Laval*, whom they suspected to be in the *French* Interest, they were put into the Custody of some of the chief Citizens. The King besieged this Town with an Army of ten thousand Men, and a Large Train of Artillery, with which they sorely batter'd the Walls and Towers both of the Town and Castle; but the Besieged fir'd as briskly upon the King's Troops, and made several bold Sallies, in which both sides behev'd themselves with a great deal of Valour and Intrepidity.

You must now understand, that the Count *de Dunnois*, who was in Lower *Bretagne*, in order

A. D.

1487.

to embark for *England*, where he design'd to solicit for some Supplies, being hinder'd by contrary Winds, brought with him fifty thousand of the Commons of *Bretagne*, to relieve the Town of *Nantes*; and the *French* supposing they were unfit for Service, let 'em pass quietly, without attacking them. The King at last, finding the Heat of the Weather encrease, and that he could not carry the Town by Force, rais'd the Siege on the sixth of *August*, and march'd with his Army and besieg'd *Dole*, which he took without any Resistance, plunder'd, and made all the Garrison, and the Inhabitants, Prisoners of War. Besides, the King's Army spoil'd and ravaged all the Country round about, kill'd the People, and drove away their Cattle: But the Marshal *de Rieux*, and the greatest part of the banish'd Lords of *Bretagne*, that were in the King's Army, being concern'd at, and lamenting the miserable Condition of their native Country, began to grow weary of the War; and alledged, that their Alliance with the King was not with a Design to destroy, but to recover their Country, and that the *French* that were fled into *Bretagne* might return into theirs: Wherefore, since the *French* Lords residing in *Bretagne* had protested solemnly that they were willing to return into *France*, provided the King would pardon their going over to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other hand, had, with the unanimous Consent of all his Subjects, offer'd the banish'd Lords of *Bretagne* not only their Pardon, but also the Restitution of all their Goods and Lands; they saw no Reason for the Continuance of the War any longer, and therefore were for having each Party return home in Peace. These Allegations, tho' there was a great deal of Truth in them, did but little move and affect the *French*,  
and



A. D. 1487. and several of the *Bretons* themselves, who were still for carrying on the War. Upon this, the Marshal *de Rieux*, who was Lord of *Ancenix*, a Town very commodious for the King to erect Magazines in, for the Subsistence of his Troops, and which (notwithstanding he held it for the King) he garrison'd with his own Tenants and Servants, surrender'd the Place to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and made the Townsmen swear Allegiance to him. And besides, before the News of this Revolt was spread abroad, he march'd with a good Body of Troops to *Chateaubrian*, which was also held for the King, and being received into the Town after a friendly Manner, he put a Garrison of his own Soldiers in it, and forced all those to leave the Town that would not return to the Obedience of the Duke. From thence he marched and besieged *Vennes*, on the twenty-fifth of *January*, which was held by the *French*, under the Government of *Gilbert de Grassay*, and *Phillip de Moulins*, two experienc'd Commanders, who surrender'd the Place upon Terms, on the third Day of *March* following.

Several  
Places taken  
by the  
King's  
Troops.

On the other hand, the King's Army was not idle; for they took *Ancenix* by storm, and by the King's express Command raz'd the Walls, Towers, and Houses, so that one Stone was not left upon another; and this the King did to spite the Marshal *de Rieux*, to whom the Town belong'd, and who had lately revolted from him as you have already heard. *Chateaubrian* was also recover'd by the King's Forces, and the Castle raz'd. From thence the King's Army marched to *Fougeres*, a Frontier Town, and of considerable Strength, which they also besieg'd; upon which the Duke of *Bretagne*, fearing he should lose all his Country, resolv'd to send the Count *de Dunois* in a Embassy to the King, of which

which you shall hear more in its proper Place.

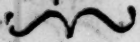
A. D.

About this time, which was in the Beginning of the Year 1488. the Lord d' Albret, who had been long resident at the Court of Spain, came by Sea, and landed in Lower Bretagne, with four thousand Men; his Forces march'd immediately to Rennes, but he himself came directly to Nantes, to wait on the Duke of Bretagne. Upon his first Arrival, he demanded the Accomplishment of the Marriage between him and the Lady Anne, the Duke's eldest Daughter; but the Lady would not consent to it, to the great Displeasure of her Father who was ignorant of her having plac'd her Affections on the Duke of Orleans, by the Managment and Persuasion of the Count de Dunois; for which Reason, and to save his Honour, he endeavour'd to withdraw the Instrument he had given for the Accomplishment of the said Marriage, and which was in the Hands of the Lady de Laval, Sister to the Lord d' Albert, among the rest of the Writtings of the other Lords of Bretagne. And he manag'd the Affair so cunningly, that at last he got it; for he gave the Lady de Laval to understand that this Match could never be accomplish'd without obtaining an Instrument under the Duke of Bretagne's Hands; and that he had prevail'd with him to give one, provided it was written Word for Word by that which the Count de Dunois had already sealed; therefore if she would be pleas'd to order his Writing to be delivered to him, he would make his Secretary take an exact Copy of it, which should be presented to the Duke, in order to have him sign it. The Lady de Laval supposing his Intentions to be just and honourable, deliver'd him his own Writing, which he never restor'd; for immediately after this he was sent with certain Lawyers in an Embassy

1488.

The Lord d' Albrets Return from Spain.

His Pretensions to the Lady Anne of Bretagne.

A. D. 1488.  bassy to the King, who was then at *Angiers* to know what his Majesty demanded in *Bretagne*, and the Reason of his destroying so many Towns and Castles in that Province.

*The Duke of Bretagne sends an Ambassador to the King, to treat of Peace.*

The Duke of *Bretagne* (as we have already observed) being in a great Consternation to see *Fougères* invested by the King's Army, sent the Count *de Dunois*, by the unanimous Consent of his Nobility, in an Embassy to the King. The Count *de Dunois* all along in his Journey to to the *French* Court, so magnified and extoll'd the Blessings and Advantages of Peace, that the Eyes of the whole Kingdom were fix'd upon him, as the only Person by whose Mediation they were to obtain it. Upon his being admitted to an Audience of the King, who was then about Eighteen Years old, he, after a very eloquent Manner, remonstrated the present Circumstances of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the other *French* Lords that had retir'd to his Court; alledging, ' That the Duke being grown old, worn out ' with Diseases, having buried his Wife, being ' destitute of Issue-male, having only two ' Daughters, one twelve Year old, and the other less; and lastly, being forsaken by his ' Nobility, upon account of their Hatred to ' Monsieur *Peter Landois*, and not through any ' Male-Administration on his Part, began to ' languish in Grief and Sorrow, and therefore ' the Nobility of *France*, that were nearly allied ' to him, out of a natural and sincere Affection, ' were retir'd to his Court, purely to comfort ' him in his Affliction; among whom none were ' so near to him as the Duke of *Orleans*, and the ' Prince of *Orange*, (except his own Children) ' one being his Uncle's Son, and the other his ' Sister's and that these and others of his near ' Relations, that were still at his Court, staid ' there



' there upon no other Design: Adding, ' that A. D.  
 ' the Duke was not to be accus'd of secret Pra- 1488.  
 ' tices against his Majesty, in not forbidding  
 ' them his Dominions, since they came purely  
 ' to comfort him in his Distress. But perhaps  
 ' (continued he) it will be objected, that there  
 ' are several others of the Nobility of *France* with  
 ' him, who have made War against the King:  
 ' But what War? Why, as the *Bretons* were  
 ' marching with an Army to raise the Siege of  
 ' *Ploermel*, being informed that it was impossi-  
 ' ble to do it, without venturing a Battle with  
 ' the *French*, out of Respect to his Majesty they  
 ' declin'd fighting, marched home, and suffer'd  
 ' their Towns to be taken and plunder'd, rather  
 ' than engage the King's Troops. Besides, as  
 ' soon as the Duke knew the King's Royal  
 ' Pleasure in relation to the Return of the ba-  
 ' nish'd Nobles of *Bretagne*, he immediately re-  
 ' stored them to his Favour and the Possession  
 ' of their Estates. What Offence (added he) has  
 ' the Duke committed? What is the Cause of  
 ' the War against him? Certainly none: But on  
 ' the other Hand, many Reasons why the King  
 ' should commiserate the present Circumstances  
 ' of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and consent to give  
 ' him Peace. This was the Substance of the  
 ' Speech which (as he said) he was commanded  
 ' to deliver to the King; but he would not have  
 ' underraken so weighty a Charge, had he not  
 ' been entirely convinc'd of the Duke's singular  
 ' Affection to his Majesty; and that the *French*  
 ' Lords that were in *Bretagne* were honest and  
 ' faithful Subjects to their King, and were ready  
 ' to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in the de-  
 ' fence of him and his Kingdom. This Speech  
 ' of the Count *de Dunois* inclin'd the King to har-  
 ' ken to Overtures of Peace, which was already

The Treaty  
 of Peace  
 broken off  
 upon the  
 News of a  
 set Battle.

A. D. set on Foot, and which was broken off by the sudden News of a Battle, of which you shall be inform'd in the following Chapter.

### CHAP. V.

*Of the Battle of St. Aubin, in which the Duke of Orleans was taken Prisoner: Of the Treaty of Peace between the King and the Duke of Bretagne; and of the Death of that Prince.*



YOU have already been inform'd of the Siege of *Fougeres*, which still continued, and notwithstanding the Count de *Dunois*'s Embassy to the King was carried on with so much Vigour and Success, that the Town was reduc'd to great Extremity; upon which, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the rest of the Nobility of *Bretagne*, being fearful of Losing the Town, immediately leave *Nantes*, and went to *Rennes*, where they assembled their Forces, in order to raise the Siege of *Fougeres*. Their Army consisting of four hundred Men at Arms, and twelve thousand Foot of their own Country, as some write; but others say, but eight thousand, besides three hundred *English* and eight hundred *Swiss*, and a large Train of Artillery. This Army, which was commanded in chief by the Duke of *Orleans*, and under him by the Lord d' *Albret*, the Marshal de *Rieux*, the Lords de *Chateaubrian*, *Leon*, *Crenettes*, *Pont l' Abbe*, *Plessis*, *Balines*, *Montigny Montuet*, and the Lord *Rivers* an *English* Peer, encamp'd as soon as they were assembled, near a Village call'd *Andouille*, on Wednesday the 23d of *July*, in 1488. In the Night there was some Disturbance in the Camp among the *Gascons*, which was like to have occasion'd

caſion'd a Quarrel between the Duke of *Orleans* and the Lord d' *Albert*, but the Matter was ſoon adjusted. in the mean time, theſe great Lords, which lay encamp'd at *Andouille*, received an Expreſs with the News of the taking of *Fougeres*, by the *French*, upon Terms of Agreement; by which the Garrifon was permitted to march out with their Bag and Baggage. No ſooner had theſe Lords received the News of the Surrender of *Fougeres*, but they call'd a Council of War, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved to decamp, and march directly to *St. Aubin*; being of Opinion they might eaſily take the Town in which there was but a ſmall Garrifon of the *French*, eſpecially ſince they might be join'd by the Garrifon that march'd out of *Fougeres*, which would be a conſiderable Reinforcement to their Army. On the other, hand, it unluckily happen'd, that the *French* Army bent their March alſo towards *St. Aubin*, with a deſign to cover the Place, and prevent the *Bretons* from beſieging it. However, neither of the Armies enter'd the Town, becauſe, before they arriv'd at it, both met and fought. For you muſt underſtand, that the ſame day that the *Bretons* receiv'd the News of the Surrender of *Fougeres* they broke up from *Andouille*, and march'd to *Orange*, a Village about two Leagues from *St. Aubin*, where they receiv'd Intelligence, that the King's Army was marching directly, with a full Reſolution to fight 'em.

The next Day, early in the Morning, the *Bretons* conſulted how to draw up their Army in Order of Battle; and becauſe the Infantry were jealous of the *French* Horſe, and eſpecially of the Duke of *Orleans* himſelf, it was judg'd proper that he and the Prince of *Orange* ſhould quit their Horſes, and fight on Foot, among the *Swiſs*; and

A. D.

1488.

*Fougeres*  
taken by  
*Compoſiti-*  
*on.*



A. D. and so they did. The Van-guard was com-  
 1488. manded by the Marshal *de Rieux*, the Main-  
 battle by the Lord *d' Albret*, and the Lord *de*  
*Chateaubrian* brought up the Rear. Upon the  
 right Wing was plac'd their Artillery; and to  
 dismay and terrify the *French* the more, by ma-  
 king them believe they had a greater Number  
 of *English* than really there were, (for there  
 were but three hundred, under the Command  
 of the Lord *Talbot*) seventeen hundred *Bretons*  
 dress'd and arm'd after the *English* Manner, were  
 ordered to join 'em. On Monday Morning, they  
 drew up in the above-mention'd Order of Bat-  
 tale near a great Wood, in expectation of the  
*French*. The King's Army (which was com-  
 manded by the Lord *de la Trimouille* Viscount of  
*Touars*) marched from *Fougeres* with a full Re-  
 solution to give the *Bretons* Battle. The Van was  
 led by *Adrian de l' Hospital* and *Gabriel de Mont-*  
*falzois*; before which a small Party of *French*  
 Officers advanc'd to get Intelligence of the *Bre-*  
*tons*, and as soon as they had discover'd in what  
 Order they were drawn up, and how posted, they  
 return'd to their Army, which boldly march'd on  
 to attack the *Bretons*. After some Canonad-  
 ing, which kill'd abundance of Men on both  
 sides, the *French* attack'd the *Breton's* Van-guard  
 with incredible Fury and Intrepidity, and they  
 were as warmly receiv'd by the Marshal *de Rieux*  
 who commanded it; so that being repuls'd there  
 they wheel'd off, and march'd directly to the  
 Main-Battle, which being vigorously charg'd  
 Sword in Hand, the Cavalry of *Bretagne* began to  
 give Ground, which dispirited those in in Rear,  
 that without fighting a Stroke they immediately  
 fled. The *French* pursued them, and made sad  
 Havock among the Infantry: The Vanguard  
 seeing this Disorder and Confusion, and that  
 there

The Battle  
 of St. Au-  
 bin du.  
 Cormier.

there were no Troops left to support them, fairly turn'd their Backs and fled too. In short, the French obtain'd a compleat Victory, and kill'd all those that wore the red Cross, supposing they had been *English*, besides twelve or thirteen hundred *Bretons* more, Horse and Foot. The Duke of *Orleans* was taken Prisoner by some of the Foot, as was also the Prince of *Orange*, who had pull'd of his black Cross, and laid himself flat upon the Ground among the dead, as if he was kill'd; he was known by a *French* Archer, and both he and the Duke of *Orleans* were brought Prisoners to *St. Aubin*, under a strong Guard. The Lord *d' Albret* seeing the Battle was lost, mounted on Horse-back, and made his Escape; the Marshal *de Rieux* also sav'd himself, and retreated to *Dinan*; but the Lords *de Leon*, *Pont l' Abbe*, *Montfort*, and several other Lords of *Bretagne*, were slain, and about six thousand common Soldiers, Of the King's side about twelve hundred or a thousand common Solders, and but one Officer of Note, which was Monsieur *James Galeot*, a brave Soldier, and much lamented in the Army. This Battle was fought on Monday the 28th of July, in 1488. soon after which, the Duke of *Orleans* was carried Prisoner to the Castle of *Luzignan*, and from thence he was remov'd to *Poitiers*, where he remain'd for some time, and lastly to the great Tower of *Bourges*.

A. D.

1483.

The  
French  
beat the  
Britons.

The second Day after the Battle, the Lord *de Rheims la Trimouille* sent an Herald to *Rheims*, to summon the Town to surrender to the King; who after some consultation, return'd this Answer, That the King had no Right to the Town; that he had unjustly, and without any Provocation, invaded *Bretagne*, and that notwithstanding his numerous Army, it would not be in his Power entirely to ruin and destroy their Country as he intended; for God who de-

summon'd  
to surren-  
der; but  
refuses to  
do it.

A. D. 1488. defended the Bretons in their Rights and Liberties, was able to shew his Power against him now, as he did against King John at Poictiere, and King Philip of Valois, at Crecy; Adding farther, that if the Lord de la Trimouille, thought fit to invest the Town, and lay formal Siege to it he would find in it forty thousand Men, twenty thousand of which were able to bear Arms, and resolved to make a vigorous Defence. This Answer was brought to the Lord de la Trimouille, who consider'd a long time before he made any Reply to it; and afterwards sent the same Herald to Angiers, where the King was to acquaint his Majesty with it. Upon which the King conven'd his Council, to resolve what Measures were to be taken in this nice Affair. The greatest part of them were for besieging the Town; but *William de Rochfort* Chancellor of *France*, was on the contrary Opinion, which was founded on the King's Title to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, which was commonly reported to come by means of a certain Writing that the Lord *John de Bros*, Lord of *Boussac*, Husband to Dame *Nicola* of *Bretagne*, Daughter and Heir to *Charles* of *Blois*, Earl of *Ponthieure* had made to the King's Ancestors, together with several other Titles, which were not as yet prov'd in due form of Law: Adding farther, that if his Majesty had no lawful title to it, it would be base and tyrannical in him to usurp another Prince's Dominions: Therefore the Chancellor's Advice was, that according to the Desire of the Ambassadors, certain grave and judicious Persons, learned in the Law, should be chosen to examine and enquire into the Right on both sides. This Opinion at last prevail'd, and accordingly the King agreed to the Demands of the Ambassadors of *Bretagne*, that both he and their Master should appoint some of their Council,

*The King's Title to the Dutchy of Bretagne examin'd into.*



cil, who should meet in some indifferent place, to examine the Charters and Writings on both sides, and fairly and equitably determine to whom the Dutchy belong'd; and that in the mean time the King should keep all the Towns that his Majesty was possess'd of already in *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Bretagne* was extreamely pleas'd with this Agreement; and because the Plague was hot in *Nantes*, he remov'd from thence, with his own Daughters, the Lady *de Laval*, the Lord *d' Albret*, the Count *de Dunois*, the Marshal *de Rieux*, the Count *de Comminges*, and several other Persons of Quality, Coizon upon the *Loire*, about three Leagues above *Nantes*, where soon after, to wit, on *Wednesday*, the 27th of *September*, 1488. he died of an Illness occasion'd by a Fall, and left the Government of his Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and his two Daughters to the Marshal *de Rieux*, with whom also the Count *de Comminges* was join'd as an Assistant. His Body was carried to *Nantes*, and intirr'd in the Church belonging to the *Carmelites* of that place.

A. D.  
1488.

The Death  
of the  
Duke of  
*Bretagne*.

CHAP. VI

*Of the King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Bretagne, by which that Dutchy was united to the Crown of France.*

**N**OT long after the Duke of *Bretagne's* Death. died also his younger Daughter, the Lady *Isabella*, by whose Decease the Lady *Anne* became his sole Heir. Her Marriage occasion'd great Contenti- on among the Nobility of *Bretagne*; for some of them were for marrying her to the Lord *d' Albret*, a powerful Lord in *Guienne*, to whom (as it was falsely reported) she was contract-

A. D.  
1489.

The  
Death of  
*Isabella*,  
the Duke  
of Bre-  
tagne's  
youngest  
Daughter.

A. D. 1488. ed by her Father's Consent, the Day before he died; but this Faction was soon dispirited by the young Lady's positively refusing to consent to this Match. Others openly declar'd themselves for *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*; alledging, that he would not only be a Protector of their Liberty, but also a strong Defence against any Designs or Attempts of *France*. The King of *France* was not ignorant of this Treaty, but knew that several Ambassadors had been sent between *Maximilian* and the Nobility of *Bretagne*; and so far was this Affair advanc'd, that *Maximilian* himself thought the Business was done, began to grasp the whole Dutchy of *Bretagne* in his Imagination, and believ'd no Enterprize too great for him to undertake, provided, if to the *Low-Countries*, (which he got by his first Marriage) he could join the Dutchy of *Bretagne* by a second. The King of *France* often assembled his Privy-Council, about Ways and Means how to break of this Match, and divert the terrible Storm that threaten'd the Kingdom; but 'twas *Maximilian's* own Remissness in the Affair that farther'd their Designs the most. At last, after some Consultation, it was resolv'd in Council, that the King should not stand to his Contract with *Maximilian's* Daughter; but should send her back to her Father, and with all Expedition endeavour to accomplish a Marriage between him and the Lady *Anne* of *Bretagne*; alledging that the Neighbourhood of so powerful a Prince as *Maximilian* was, could not but be of dangerous consequence to the Kingdom of *France*, being one from whom his Majesty could expect nothing but dissembled Friendship now, and certain War hereafter; considering that having already forgotten his Alliance and Affinity with the King, began one War after another against him, and

and by that Means shew'd himself to be an open Enemy to the King and Kingdom. Upon this Resolution Ambassadors were dispatch'd to the Court of *Bretagne*, to treat of a Marriage with the Lady *Anne*. At first she was extremely surpriz'd at this Proposal, and told the Ambassadors, that she had already given her Faith and Honour to *Maiximilian*, which she could not break; and besides, she was solemnly married to him (according to the usual Manner of Princes) by his Proxy, *Wolfgangus Poleme* of *Austria*, sent by him into *Bretagne* for that Purpose, However, the Lady *de Laval*, and other Ladies of Quality, who were her chief Favourites, being corrupted by *French* Gold, and large Promises, perswaded her that this *French* Match would be most for her Safety and Advantage, cunningly insinuating, that if she married *Maximilian*, he would scarce be able to defend *Bretagne*, considering he had always disappointed them of the Succours he had promis'd to send them: As for her Scruple of Conscience, they told her that the Pope, who had Power over Ecclesiastical Laws, would easily be prevail'd with to dispense with her Vow to *Maximilian*. since this Match would be so much for her Advantage, and the Preservation of her Territories. The young Princess, tho' she was a Person of great Wit and Virtue, yet being overcome by these artful and insinuating Persuasions, consented to the Request of the King's Ambassadors, and deliver'd up both her self and her Dominions into his Majesty's Hands; and soon after the Marriage was solemniz'd, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the *French* Court. Thus *Bretagne* came under the *French* Power, to the unspeakable Grief of all its Subjects, who desir'd still to be govern'd by a

A. D.

1489.

A Treaty  
of Marriage  
between the  
King and  
the Lady  
Anne of  
Bretagne.



A. D. particular Duke of their own, as they had ever  
1489. been in times past.

*The Death  
of the  
Count de  
Dunois.*

Soon after this Marriage, the Count *de Dunois*, who had been the chief Promoter of the Peace, and a great Instrument in this Match, (by which he entirely re-gain'd the King's Favour) died suddenly on Horse-back, and according to common Report, for want of something to eat. As soon as the King had settled Affairs in *Bretagne*, he return'd into *France*, and ordered the Lady *Margeret* of *Flanders* to be still kept, attended by the Princess of *Tarento*, in the Castle of *Melun*, upon the *Seine*.

Maximilian vows  
to be re-  
veng'd on  
Charles  
VIII.

*Maximilian* was inform'd of the secret Designs and Practices of the *French*, and seem'd not to value 'em; but when he found the Marriage was solemniz'd, he began to double his Hatred against the King; openly exclaim'd against him, swore he would destroy *France* with Fire and Sword, and immediately invaded *Picardy* with a numerous Army. The Lord *des Cordes*, who was Governor of that Province, oppos'd him, and valiantly defended the Country, to his own Honour and the Advantage of *France*: However, *Maximilian* being resolv'd to be thoroughly reveng'd of *France*, stirr'd up the *English*, (the ancient Enemies of that Kingdom) to invade it on that side, and promis'd them great Supplies both of Men and Money. Upon this Account, we are oblig'd to say something of the Affairs of *England*, because the *English* are our next Neighbours, and both in Peace and War, have always Concerns with us, and we with them.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the Troubles in England ; of the King of England's besieging Bologne ; of the Peace between the King and him ; and of the surprising Arras and St. Omers by the King of the Romans.*



**K**ING Edward IV. the same that had an Interview with Lewis XI. at Picquigny (where the French outwitted the English in the Treaty of Peace that was concluded there) dying in the Year 1483. left behind him two (a) Sons and several (b) Daughters. The Government of the two Sons was committed to the Duke of Gloucester, King Edward's Brother, who barbarously murder'd 'em, slew those of the Nobility whom he thought

A. D.

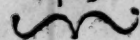
1489.

*Troubles  
in Eng-  
land.*

(a) Edward and Richard, both inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely buried by their own Uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester. who afterwards usurp'd the Kingdom by the Title of Richard III.

(b) His eldest Daughter the Lady Elizabeth was married to Henry Earl of Richmond, afterwards known by the Name of Henry VII. by which Match the two contending Houses of York and Lancaster were united. The younger Daughters were bestow'd, one in a Nunnery, and others on inferior Lords. Cicely was married to John Viscount Welles: Anne to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Bridget was a profess'd Nun at Dartford: Mary was contracted to the King of Denmark, but died before Consummation of Marriage: Margaret died an Infant: and Catherine married William Courtney Earl of Devonshire. All these younger Princesses died without Issue, except the Lady Catherine; and her Posterity also fail'd in the third Descent. Henry her Son, Marquis of Exeter, suffered by Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII. his Cousin-German; being not long before designed Heir apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in England) and his Son Edward untimely came to his End in Padua in Italy, in the Reign of Queen Mary; by whose Favours he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Possessions.

A. D. would oppose his Designs, and usurp'd the Crown.  
1489.



*The Duke of Bretagne, by the persuasion of Peter Landois, assists the Earl of Richmond in his Designs upon England.*

*The Earl of Richmond's Design miscarries and he is driven up on the Coast of Normandy.*

At last the Duke of *Buckingham* (who had espous'd the Duke of *Gloucester's* Interest, even to the Usurpation of the Crown) fell out with him, and invited *Henry Earl of Richmond*, who had been an Exile in *Bretagne* for many Years, to come over into *England*, promising to join him with a powerful Army immediately upon his Landing. The Earl of *Richmond* communicated this Affair to *Peter Landois*, by whom the Duke of *Bretagne* was entirely govern'd at that time; who being in hopes that the Earl (if by his Interest he obtain'd the Kindom of *England*) would assist him against his Enemies, perswaded the Duke of *Bretagne* to Assist him with Men and Money, to carry on this Enterprize, who accordingly furnish'd him with three large Ships and a considerable Body of Land Forces, with which he put to Sea, and sail'd immediately for *England*. As soon as they were arriv'd on the Coast of *England*, and ready to disembark, the Earl of *Richmond* receiv'd the unwelcome News of the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* (whom King *Richard* had beheaded) the Defeat of his Troops, and King *Richard's* being upon the Sea Coast with a powerful Army, in expectation of his Landing. Upon this Intelligence the Earl of *Richmond* return'd, in hopes of recovering the Coast of *Bretagne*, from whence he iet sail; but a Tempest ovettook him and drove him upon that of *Normandy*, where he was forced to land. The Dutchess of *Beaujeu* having notice of his Landing, sent a Gentleman belonging to her Household, to invite him to Court; where the King receiv'd him very graciously, and where he made some stay, after which he returned to *Vennes* in *Bretagne*, to remain there till a more favourable Opportunity. *Peter Landois* seeing himself dis-

appointed



appointed in his Designs, alter'd his Mind, and made Overtures to King *Richard* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands; but the Earl, being secretly inform'd of it, under pretence of going a Hawking one Morning, fled with about ten or twelve Horse into *France* to King *Charles VIII.* who afterwards furnish'd him with Ships and some Solders, to assist him in his Design upon *England*; by whose Help, and that of his own Relations, who had invited him over, and espous'd his Interest, he fought, vanquish'd and slew King *Richard* in the Feild; and was himself crown'd King in his room. This generous Assistance of King *Charles's* join'd to the King of *England's* Desire of living peaceable and growing rich, was the Reason why *Henry VII.* during all the Wars and Troubles in *Bretagne*, never invaded *France*, tho' he had often been earnestly soliciting to do it, both by the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Count *de Dunois*, and the rest of the Lords of that Faction. For generally when any Troubles arose in *France*; our Neighbours, especially the *English*, within a Year, are invited to take part of the Feast, and so was *Henry VII.* King of *England*, and had certainly invaded *France*, if the above-mention'd Reasons, join'd to some other private ones, to wit, Fear of a Civil War in his own Kingdom, had not kept him at home.

A. D.

1489.

Peter Lan-  
dois en-  
deavours to  
deliver  
him into  
the Hands  
of Richard  
III. King  
of Eng-  
land.

The King  
of France  
assists the  
Earl of  
Rich-  
mond,  
who kills  
King Ri-  
chard III.  
and is  
crown'd  
King him-  
self.

However, not withstanding the King of *England's* Backwardness to invade *France*; yet in the Year 1493. partly by the Instigation of *Maximilian*, who had promis'd him great Assistance in his Wars, (but disappointed him) and partly to please his own Subjects, who already began to think him too much in the *French* Interest, by suffering 'em, to the prejudice of *England*, to annex the Dutchy of *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France*; he pass'd

A. D.

1490.

A. D. 1490. *Hen. VII. King of England besieges Bologne.* pass'd the Seas, and besieged (a) *Bologne*, whither the Lord *des Cordes*, and the Bastard of *Cardonne*, Governour of *Arras*, were sent with a small Body of Troops to reinforce the Garrison, and put the Place into a Posture of Defence. Besides, the King rais'd an Army, in order to relieve the Town; but those Forces not being assembled in any great haste, the two above-mention'd Officers took upon them the Command and Defence of it. The Siege was not carried on with any Vigour, so that the *French* sent an Herald into the *English* Camp to make some Overtures of Peace, to which King *Henry* seem'd not to be averse, as well for the Affection he bore the King of *France* who had assisted him in his obtaining the Crown of *England*, as also fear of Sedition at home, which hinder'd him from being long absent out of his Dominions; because *Maximilian* had broken his Word with him; and lastly, because he hop'd, by this (b) Peace, to receive of the King a vast Sum of Money, which he lov'd extremely well, as being the most covetous Prince that ever reign'd in *Europe*. The Lord *de Cordes* finding the King of *England's* Inclinations for Peace, went and had a Conference with him in his Camp. His Majesty's Demands were, first, a great Sum of Money, which he said he had lent the late Duke of *Bretagne*; and secondly,

(a) According to our *English* Chronicles, the Siege of *Bologne* was in the Year 1491.

(b) Sir *Francis Bacon*, in the Life of *Henry VII.* says it rather deserves the Name of a Bargain than a Treaty of Peace; and that the King being ashamed of the inglorious Terms he had made with the *French* King, a little before the Peace was concluded, under-hand procur'd some of the chief Officers of his Army and Captains of his Fleet, to address him to make Peace in an earnest manner, and in the nature of a Supplication.

that



that the King should pay him all the Charge he had been at in this War. To all these Demands the King of *France* agreed, and an Order was sign'd, by which the King of *England* was to receive annually such a certain Sum of Money, till the whole demanded by him was paid; and in this shameful and dishonourable manner the King of *England* return'd home. In the mean time, while the Lord *des Cordes* and the Bastard of *Cardonne* were at *Bologne*, treating with the King of *England*; the Citizens of *Arras* knowing the Town not to be well fortified, tamper'd with the Garrison to persuade, em to deliver it up to *Maximilian*, who accordingly sent a Detachment thither, which secretly and with great diligence approach'd the Walls of the Place. When all things were in readiness, and the Gates being so slightly guarded, that the Traitors with their false Keys had open'd them, they began a Song, in which they desired the Enemies to hasten their March, who immediately came up to the Gates, and were admitted into the Town. *Paul Carquelevant*, a Breton, who was Governor of the Town in the Absence of the Bastard of *Cardonne*, retir'd, upon the Enemy's first Entrance, with his Garrison into the Castle; but fearing lest it should be taken by Storm, presently abandon'd it after a most shameful manner; for if he had but held out till the next Day a considerable Body of *French* Troops had been sent to relieve it. The Town was plunder'd, and several People kill'd, neither did they spare the Churches nor the Houses of those that betray'd it. The Author of this Treason was a poor Smith, that liv'd upon the Town-wall, and was the only Person that was suffer'd to remain in the Town when *Lewis XI.* transported the Townsmen as a Colony into *France*.

A. D.

1490.

Hen. VII.  
raises the  
Siege of  
*Bologne*  
for a Sum  
of Money.

The Town  
of *Arras*  
surpris'd  
by *Maxi-*  
*melian's*  
Troops.

Car-



A. D.

1490.

St. Omers  
surpris'd  
by Maxi-  
milian's  
Troops.

*Carquelevant* the Governour, when the Town was surpris'd, lay fast asleep and dead drunk, as it was reported. The Town was plunder'd, by reason that *Maximilian* ow'd his Soldiers some Months Pay, and were forced to do it for Subsistence. *St. Omers* was also surpris'd at the same time, tho' some refer it to another; but whenever it was taken, it is certain it was owing to the Negligence of the Guards that were posted at the Gates: For the Enemy, whose Troops were commanded by Monsieur *George Deberfin*, made a shew upon their first investing the Town, as if they design'd to have scal'd it at which time the *French* Garrison were in Arms upon the Walls and ready to receive 'em; and the Town was strong and very defensible both by Art and Nature. Upon this the Enemy pretended to be afraid, retir'd to their Camp, nay even farther, when the *French* Garrison sallied out to fall upon their Rear; and thus they continued to retreat for eight Days together, and by this Piece of Policy and Dissimulation made the *French* careless and negligent in their Duty, which being perceived by the *Burgundians* and *Germans*, they with great Expedition planted Scaling Ladders against the Walls and Bulwarks of the Town, and easily enter'd it, the Guards being fast asleep, and in some Places none at all. As soon as they had scal'd the Walls, they forced open the Gates, put the *French* Garrison, and the greatest part of the Citizens, to the Sword, and so become Masters of the Town.

Amiens  
like to  
have been  
surpris'd  
but pre-  
vented by  
the Cou-  
rage of a  
Woman.

At the same time also *Amiens* was attempted by the *Burgundians* in the Night, and like to have been surpris'd by the same Negligence of the Guards; but *Catharine de Liques* (a Woman of an herpick Courage) awaken'd the Guards out of their

their dead Sleep, by which means the Alarm-Bell was rung, and the Garrison and the Townsmen repair'd immediate to their Arms; part of which defended the Walls, and the rest of 'em made a Sally, fought and defeated *Maximilian's* Troops, who generously own'd, that the Vigilance and Industry of one Woman had wrested the Victory out of their Hands.

A. D.

1490.

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Restitution of Roussillon and Perpignan to the King of Spain; of the Emperor Frederick's Death; of the Peace between the the King of the Romans and the King; and of the Duke of Orleans's Releasement out of Prison.*



ERDINAND, King of Arragon, A. D.

desired nothing more than to recover the Countries of *Roussillon* and *Perpignan* out of the King's Hands, which were mortgaged by him (as he said) to *Lewis XI.* for fifty thousand Crowns. The Nobility of *France* would not consent to this Restitution, because those two Countries were a Barrier to the Kingdom on that side towards *Spain*, alledging that they were not engag'd to King *Lewis*, but absolutely sold; and tho' the King of *Spain* maintain'd, that *Lewis XI.* by his last Will and Testament, had order'd those Countries to be restor'd, as knowing them to be unjustly detain'd; yet his Remonstrances and Allegations were but of little force. Therefore finding he could do no good that way, he began to tamper with Priests and holy People. Hoping by their preaching up Conscience and Justice

A. D.

1492.

A. D. 1492. Justice to the King, to gain of his Majesty what was impossible for him to obtain by any other means. In order to effect his Designs, he corrupted with a large Sum of Money Father *Oliver Maillard*, or according to other Authers, *John de Mauleon*, a *Franciscan* Friar, and Confessor to the Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu*, the King's Sister; who under the Pretence of Religion hiding his Hypocriſy and Avarice, perſuaded her, that if Reſtitution of theſe Territories were not immediately made to the King of *Spain*, that the King her Brother could never expect a proſperous and happy Reign. The Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu* being touch'd in Conſcience by this Friar's Preſuaſions, open'd the whole Matter to *Lewis d' Amboiſe* Biſhop of *Alba*, the King's School-maſter, who in conjunction with her, ſo terrified the King's Conſcience; that he not only made Reſtitution of the ſaid Territories by the Hands of the above-mention'd Biſhop, but alſo gave the King of *Arragon* the Money that his Father *Lewis XI.* had paid for 'em; upon theſe Conditions, that the ſaid King of *Arragon* and his Succeſſors ſhould for the future be in Friendſhip and Amity with the Kingdom of *France*; that he ſhould make no War againſt it, nor aid or aſſiſt with either Money, Troops, Proviſions or Council, the Enemies thereof; nor to grant them a Paſſage through his Dominions. And after this manner were theſe Provinces reſtor'd, to the univerſal Diſlike and Mortification of the Subjects of *France*; but in reality the King was rather inclin'd to reſtore 'em, becauſe his Maſteſty began already, by the Perſuaſion of ſome of his Courtiers, to have ſome thoughts of his Expedition to *Naples*, for the Recovery of that Kingdom; which afterwards ſucceeded, tho' the King, both at that time, and

\*

long

Rouſſilon  
and Per-  
pignan re-  
ſtored to  
the King  
of Spain.



long afterwards, kept his Designs secret to himself, and one or two more; which intended Expedition we believe was the principal Cause of his restoring the abovemention'd Provinces, to oblige the King of *Spain* to stand neuter, and not give him any Disturbance in his Designs. But he was mistaken; for no sooner had the King pass'd the Mountains with his Army, but the King of *Spain* forgot all his Favours and Obligations, and endeavour'd to form an Alliance with his Enemies against him.

During these Transactions in *France*, the Emperor *Frederick* died; to whom his Son *Maximilian* succeeded, who however was never crown'd, neither was he ambitious of that Honour; for if he had, he might easily have obtain'd it.

The Emperor *Maximilian* designing to quiet and pacify the State of the Empire, which his Father's Death had involv'd in some Troubles, seem'd more desirous to make Peace with the King, than he had formerly been, which happen'd very fortunately for the King's Affairs; for without a Peace with *Maximilian*, it had been impracticable for his Majesty to have undertaken his Expedition to *Italy*; but both Parties being inclin'd to Peace, it was soon concluded. The Emperor's Daughter was restor'd to him, and with her the County of *Artois*, and all the Towns his Impertal Majesty demanded. And thus the King being in Peace with all his Neighbours, to wit, the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *Spain*; and being by his Marriage in the quiet Possession of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and by that means having no Enemy to fear, he began wholly to think of his intended Expedition to *Italy*, on which he had long fix'd his Mind.

Besides, about this time the King, at the earnest Request and Sollicitation of his Sister *Jane*,

(a

A. D.

1492.

A. D.

1493.

The Death  
of the Em-  
peror Fre-  
derick.

A. D. 1493. (a Lady of singular Piety and Virtue) restor'd not only to his Liberty, but his Favour, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, (the Lady *Jane's* Husband) who was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *St. Aubin* in *Bretagne*, as you have already heard; by which Action of Generosity the King not only deserv'd the highest Commendations for his Clemency in preserving his Enemy, and restoring him to his former Dignity and Honour; but; by it took care that no discontented Subject at home should disturb the Tranquility of the Kingdom in his Absence, in his Expedition to *Italy*, to which the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines* now call us; which History, from the Death of *Lewis XI.* to this present Time, have been supplied out of other good and valuable Authors; because *Philip de Comines* himself, who was either in Prison or in Disgrace at Court, almost from the Death of *Lewis XI.* to the above-mentioned Expedition into *Italy* (in which he was present) has been silent, and has left nothing in Writing to Posterity, of what Occurances happen'd during that Space of Time.

*Lewis  
Duke of  
Orleans  
releas'd  
out of  
Prison.*

*The End of the Supplement.*



The



# The Author's P R E F A C E,

Giving an Account of the Design of his *Memoirs* concerning the Reign of Charles VIII. the Son of *Lewis XI.* but with Intermission of some Years, from the Death of *Lewis XI.* till he re-assumes his Discourse ; which is from the Year 1483, to 1494.

**T**O continue these *Memoirs*, which were begun by me Philip de Comines, Concerning the *Exploits and Reign of our late King Lewis XI.* I will now give you an Account what induced his Son Charles VIII. to undertake his Expedition into Italy, in which I was present. The King set out from *Vienne* in *Dauphine* the 23d of August, 1494. and return'd into his Kingdom in the Year 1495. Before he undertook this Enterprize, it was warmly debated, whether he should go or not ; for to all Persons of Experience and Wisdom it was look'd upon as a very dangerous Undertaking ; nor indeed was any Body for it but himself, and one Stephen de Vers, a Native of *Languedoc* of very mean Extraction, and one who had never seen or had the least Knowledge of Military Affairs. There was also one *Brissonet*, who was of the Council and belong'd to the Finances ; but his Heart fail'd him, and he shrank his Neck out of the Collar. However, this Expedition turned much to his Advantage afterwards ; for he had great Preferment in the Church, was made a Cardinal, and his Fortune advanced by the Addition of several spiritual Promotions. De Vers

VOL II. L was



was possess'd of a plentiful Estate before, was made Seneschal of Beaucarie, and President of the Accompts at Paris; for in his Youth he had served the King faithfully in Quality of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and by his Persuasion, Monsieur Brissonet was brought over to his Party; so that they two were the chief Promoters of this Expedition, which the greatest part of the Kingdom rather blam'd than commended them for: Because, not only all things necessary for so great an Enterprize were wanting; but the King was young, foolish, and obstinate, without either Money, Officers, or Soldiers: So that before he began his March, he was forced to borrow a Hundred Thousand Franks of the Bank of Genoa at an extravagant Interest, from Mart to Mart; besides what he took up in other Places, as you shall hear hereafter. They had neither Tents nor Pavilions, tho' it was Winter when the Army entered into Lombardy. One thing indeed was very handsome, and that was a Brigade of young Volunteers, who were lively and brisk, but under no command or Discipline. So that we may conclude, this whole Expedition, both going and coming, was conducted purely by God; for as we said before, the Wisdom of the Contrivers of this Scheme contributed but little: However, they may boast of this, that they were the Occasion of highly advancing the Honour of their King.



THE



THE  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
PHILIP de COMINES,  
Lord of *Argenton*,

Containing the Principal Exploits  
and Transactions during the Reign of  
CHARLES VIII. to the Death of that  
Prince, and LEWIS XII's Accession to  
the Crown, in the Year 1498.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

*Of René, Duke of Lorraine's coming into France;  
to demand the Duchy of Bar, and the County  
of Provence, which the King had in his Pos-  
session; and his being disappointed in his Pre-  
tensions to the Kingdom of Naples, to which  
he laid Claim as well as the King with an  
Account of their Titles.*



AS soon as the the King was fourteen The House  
or fifteen Years old, which was an Age of Lor-  
fit to be (a) crown'd, the Duke of Lor- rain's  
rain came to him to demand the Claim to  
Duchy of Bar, which King Lewis, XI. kept from the County  
of Pro- vence.

(a) He was crown'd at Rhiems the 30th of May, 1484.

The Dut-  
chy of Bar  
surren-  
der'd to  
the Duke  
of Lor-  
rain.

him; and the County *Provence*, which King *Charles* of *Anjou* his Cousin German, dying without Issue, left to *Lewis XI.* by his last Will and Testament. The Duke of *Lorraine* laid claim to it, as being Son to the Daughter of *Renè* King of *Sicily*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Provence*; alledging that the King of *Sicily* had highly injur'd him, for that the said *Charles* of *Anjou* was but his Brother's Son, whereas he was descended from his own Daughter: But the King pretended that *Provence* could not be transferr'd by Will to a Daughter. The Conclusion of this Affair was, *Bar* was restored for a sum of Money which the King insisted upon, and the Duke of *Lorraine* being in great Favour, and having many Friends at Court, (especially *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was old, and delirous to marry his Sister) had the Command of a hundred Lances given him, and a Pension of 36000 Franks for four Years, in which time his title to *Provence* was to be examin'd into. I was one of his Council, which was chosen on Purpose, which consisted of the King's Relations, and the three Estates of the Kingdom, to determine the Matter. *Stephen de Vers* (whom I mention'd before) was another, who had got some Estate in *Provence*, which he was unwilling to part with, and therefore made the King, as young as he was, to declare (in the Presence of his Sister the Dutches of *Bourbon*) the Count de *Comminges*, and the Lord du *Lau*, (both likewise of the Council) and my self, that we should have a Care he did not lose the County of *Provence*, and this was transacted before the above-mention'd Agreement.

Before the Expiration of the four Years, some Persons of *Provence* produc'd a new Will of *Charles I.* who was Brother to Saint *Lewis*, and of other Kings of *Sicily* of the House of *France*.

By



By these it was pretended, that not only the Country of *Provence* belong'd to the King, but the the Kingdom of *Sicily* also, and other Places possess'd by the House of *Anjou*; and that the Duke of *Lorrain* had no Title to any of them; (which other People denied) those who were against the Duke of *Lorrain's* Title, were influenc'd by this *Stephen de Vers*, who possess'd his Master that the last King *Charles*, Earl of *Provence*, Son of *Charles* of *Anjou* Count *du Maine*, and Nephew to King *Renè*, had left it to him by his Will. For he had made him his Heir before he died, and prefer'd him before the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was his own Daughter's Son: And this they urged was done by King *Renè*, in consideration of the Wills of *Charles I.* and his Wife the Countess of *Provence*, by which they had enjoin'd, that that Kingdom and the Country of *Provence*, should not be separated, nor descend to a Daughter whilst there was a Son living of the Line: And they affirm'd, that the Wills of their Successors were to the same Effect, and particularly the Will of *Charles II.*

During the time of these four Years, they that had the Management of the King, who were the Duke and Dutchess of (a) *Bourbon*, one (b) *Graville*, and others, Lords of his Bed-chamber

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(a) *Madam de Beaujeu*, Dutchess of *Bourbon*, was appointed by *Lewis XI.* and the three Estates of the Kingdom, to be Regent of *France*, during the Minority of her Brother *Charles VIII.* But the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afterwards *Lewis XII.* oppos'd that Decree. and in Conjunction with some of the Nobility, took up Arms, and demanded the Regency, as the first Prince of the Blood; and it was against this Confederacy, that the Dutchess of *Bourbon* invited and call'd in the Duke of *Lorrain* to her Assistance.

(b) *Lewis Malet*, Lord of *Graville*, *Marcouffy*, and *Bois-males-herbes*, Governour of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, and made Admiral of *France*, in the Year 1485. He enjoy'd that Post

Manage-  
ment of  
Affairs of  
France  
during the  
Minority  
of Charles  
VIII.

chamber, who were in great Power (sent for the Duke of Lorraine to Court, and put him into Places of great Trust and Authority; that being a Person of a more enterprising Temper than the rest of the Courtiers, he might aid and assist them in their Undertakings: Besides, they question'd not to find a Way to get rid of him when they had no farther Service for him, as they did afterwards, when they found they were able to manage Affairs by themselves; and the Power of the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the Nobility in his Faction was weaken'd and began to decline apace. And to say the Truth, after the Expiration of the four Years the Duke of Lorraine would stay no longer at Court, unless they would put him into Possession of the County of Provence, or secure it to him in writing at a prefix Time, and continue his Pension of 36000 Franks; but not agreeing in the Point, the Duke of Lorraine left France, highly disgusted with the Court.

A Rebel-  
lion in the  
Kingdom  
of Naples  
against  
King Fer-  
rand.

Four or five Months before his leaving the Court a very advantageous Overture was made him, if he had known how to have accepted it. The whole Kingdom of Naples was in Rebellion against King Ferrand, for his and his Sons Tyranny, so that all the Barons, and three Parts of the Kingdom, submitted themselves to the Church; but the said King Ferrand, with the

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once more after the Death of his Son-in-Law, Charles d'Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, Lieutenant-General for the King and Governour of Paris, Milan, Genoa, and Normandy, Knight of the King's Order, Marshal and Lord High-Steward of France; Nephew to the famous Cardinal George d'Amboise; who arriv'd to the Honour and Dignity of being Admiral of France. by the Resignation of his Father-in-law, the Admiral de Graville, and died two Years afterwards, in the Year 1508. at Corregio in Lombardy. The Admiral de Graville died the 30th of October, in the Year 1516.

Assistance



Assistance of the *Florentines*, press'd them very hard upon which the (d) Pope, and the Lords who were in Arms against them, sent to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to have made him King, and they were so far in earnest in the matter, that the Gallies under the Command of the Cardinal of *Saint Peter ad Vincula*, waited for him a long time at *Genoa*, whilst he was quarrelling at Court, tho' Ambassadors from all the Nobility of that Kingdom were with him, and pressing him daily to be gone. The Result of all was, the King and his Council exprest great Readiness to assist him: He was promis'd 60000 Franks, and receiv'd 20000 of them, the rest he lost; he had leave to carry his hundred Lances along with him, and was told that the King would send Ambassadors to foreign Courts, to espouse his Interest. However, tho' the King was now nineteen Years of Age; yet he was still govern'd by the Persons above-named, who were always filling his Ears with his undoubted Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which I insert the rather, because Persons of little Consideration are often capable of raising great Troubles; and so I understood they did here, by several of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassadors to *Rome Florence, Genoa*, and elsewhere; as also by the Duke himself as he passed by *Moulins*, where I then resided, upon Account of the Dispute between the Court and *John Duke of Bourbon*. But the Duke of *Lorrain's* Opportunity was half lost already by his own Delay; however, I went out to meet and compliment him, tho' I had no Obligation to do it; for he was partly the Occasion of my being remov'd from Court, and had given me very abusive Language; but now no body so dear

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(d) Pope *Julius II.*



to him, as I; he carefs'd me at a most extravagant Rate, and complain'd heavily of those who had the present Administration of Affairs. He continued two Days with *John Duke of Bourbon*, and then he set out for *Lions*.

In short, his Friends were so weary and tir'd with Expectation, that both Pope and Barons came to an Accommodation with King *Ferrand* upon which the Barons adventuring to *Naples*, were all seiz'd and imprison'd, though the Pope, the *Venetians*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Florentines*, were all of them their Guarantees, and had promis'd and sworn to the contrary. The Prince *Salerno* escap'd into *France*, refusing to be comprehended in the Treaty of Accommodation as knowing the revengeful Temper of King *Ferrand*; and the Duke of *Lorraine* return'd with great Shame and Dishonour into his own Country. He was never afterwards in any Credit with our King who took away his Lances, stopp'd his 36000 Franks for the County of *Provence*, and in that Condition he stands this very Day, (e) 1497.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the coming of the Prince of Salerno, a Neapolitan by Birth, into France; of the Endeavours that were us'd by him and Lodowick Sforza, surnam'd the Moor, to persuade the King to make War upon the King of Naples, and the Occasion of it.*



HE Prince of *Salerno* with three of his Nephews, Sons to the Prince of *Bisignan*, fled to *Venice*; where they were kindly received. Their Business was

(e) 'Tis presum'd the Author finish'd these Memoirs in this Year.

to consult that Senate (as the Prince told me himself) to know what Prince they should Address themselves to, whether to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*. He told me this Answer was, that the Duke of *Lorraine's* Affairs were in a desperate Condition, and 'twas impossible for him ever to relieve them; that the King of *Spain* would be too powerful by the Addition of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Isle of *Sicily*, and what he had already in the Gulph of *Venice*; and that his Strength at Sea was very considerable already: But if they might advise, they would rather have them apply themselves to the King of *France* for with the Kings of *France* who formerly reign'd in *Naples*, they have held very good Friendship and Amity; and this I believe was spoken without any Prospect of what happen'd afterwards. The Conclusion of all was, the Barons came into *France*, were well receiv'd, but indifferently supply'd; they solicited very hard for two Years together, and all their Application was to *Stephen de Vers*, at that time Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, and Chamberlain to the King. One Day they were in Hopes, another in Despair; however, their Friends used the same Diligence in *Italy*, especially in *Milan*, where *John Galeas* was Duke not the great *Galeas*, who was buried in the Charter-house in *Pavia*, but the Son of Duke *Galeas* and the Dutches *Bona* a Daughter of the House of *Savoy*, which Duke being a weak Prince, the Dutches had the Education of her Children; and I have seen her (when she was a Widow) in great Authority, but manag'd by one of her Secretaries call'd *Cico*, who had been a long time in that Family, and had driven out or imprison'd all the Brothers of this Duke *Galeas*, to secure the Dutches and her Children.

Among



Lodo-  
wick  
Sforza re-  
call'd from  
Banish-  
ment.

Among the rest he banish'd one *Lodowick*, (who was since Duke of *Milan*) whom he recall'd, tho' he was her Enemy, and actually in Arms against her; as also one *Robert di St. Severino*, a Person of great Valour and Experience in military Affairs, whom by the Advice of this *Cico* she had likewise banish'd. At last, by the Persuasion of one *Anthony Tassino*, who was her Carver, (a Native of *Ferrara*, and of mean Extraction) she recall'd them very indiscreetly; presuming that according to their Oaths and Promises, they would do no Harm to *Cico*. But the third day after their Return they took *Cico*, put him in a Tub, and in Derision carried him in Triumph through the Town. This *Cico* had married with one of the Family of the *Visconti*, and had they been in the way, these durst not have seiz'd him. This was a Contrivance of *Lodowick's*, that *Robert di St. Severino*, being to pass that way, might have the Pleasure of beholding him in that Posture, for he knew he abhor'd him: After which *Cico* was conducted to the Castle of *Pavia*, where he died a Prisoner.

They paid the Lady all possible Respect, and as she thought complied with her in every thing; but they held private Cabals among themselves, and never communicated any thing to her, but what was of little Importance, and she took it for the greatest Kindness imaginable not to trouble her with any thing.

They gave her Leave to caress *Anthony Tassino* and make him what Presents she pleased: They assign'd him an apartment near her own, and permitted him to carry her on Horseback behind him quite thorough the Town, and nothing but Feasting and Dancing was to seen in her Palace. This way of Living did not continue

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long



long, scarce half a Year, during which time she made him several rich Presents, and all Pacquets were directed to him, which render'd him odious to and highly distast'd *Lodowick*, (Uncle to the Children) who intended to make himself Sovereign, as he did afterwards. One Morning the Children were both taken from their Mother, and carried to the Castle, which they call'd *the Rock*, where they were secur'd by the Appointment of *Lodowick*, *Robert di St. Severno*, and one *Pallevoisin*, the young Duke's Governour) and (f) Captain of the Castle, who before the Death of Duke *Galeas* never stirr'd out of it, nor a long time after; till at length he was taken by the Circumvention of *Lodowick*, and the Folly of his Master, who took after the Mother, and was no wiser than he could be. When these Persons had secur'd the Children in the Castle, they seiz'd upon the Treasury, (which at that time was the richest in Christendom) and took an Account of it; after which they caused three Keys to be made, of which she had one, but she never touch'd one Farthing of the Money afterwards. They made her renounce the Guardianship of her Son and Count *Lodowick* was deputed in her Place, Besides, they wrote Letters full of Reflections on her into several Places, and particularly into *France*; which I saw, and those contain'd severe Remarks on her Conduct, in relation to her Favourite *Anthony Tassino*; yet they sent him away without any other Punishment; for the Lord *Robert* was his Friend, and would not suffer either his Person or Estate to be touch'd. But these two great Men could

*The Dut-  
chess of  
Milan  
turn'd out  
of the  
Guardian-  
ship of her  
Son, by  
Lodowick  
Storza her  
Brother in-  
law.*

(f) This Captain had no ill Design upon the Children as the rest had; but only consented to their being put into the Castle, as believing them safer there than under the Government of their foolish Mother.

not

not as yet get Admittance into the Castle when they pleas'd; for the Captain had a Brother in it, and near a hundred and fifty Men, who always order'd the Gate to be very strictly guarded when they enter'd; and would not suffer above one or two to come in with them, and this Caution was used for a long time.

Two  
Statesmen  
seldom a-  
gree toge-  
ther,

No Differ-  
ence in  
Italy be-  
tween na-  
tural Chil-  
dren and  
those born  
in Wed.  
lock, in the  
Author's  
Time,

Lodo-  
wick's  
bold Pro-  
ceedings.

In the mean while a great Dispute arose between *Lodowick* and *Robert di St. Severino*, as is usual, for 'tis impossible for two Persons in Authority to agree long; but *Lodowick* getting the upper Hand, the other quitted *Milan*, and went into the *Venetian* Service. Yet since that two of his Sons, the Lord *Galeas* and the Count *di Cajazzo*, came back and served the Count *de Lodowick* and the State of *Milan*; some say they came with their Father's Consent, others say not, be it which it will, *Lodowick* entertain'd them very kindly, and they have, and do still serve him very faithfully. You must know that this *Robert* their Father was of the House of *St. Severino*, but by a Natural Daughter, which in *Italy* is no great Matter; for a Natural Daughter with them is as good as one lawfully begotten. I mention this Particular upon account of their assisting us in our Enterprize in that Country in favour of the Prince of *Salerno*, (who is chief of the House of *St. Severino*.) and for other Reasons, which you shall hear in another Place.

This *Lodowick* began presently to make it appear, that he would stick at nothing to establish his Authority: caus'd Money no be coin'd with the Duke's Effigies on one side, and his own on the other, which disgusted abundance of the People of *Milan*. The Duke was married to the Duke of *Calabria's* Daughter, who after the death of his Father *Ferrand* King  
of

of *Naples*, was King himself by the Name of *Alphonso*; the young Lady was very couragious, and would fain have irritated her Husband to the Vindication of his Authority; but he was a weak Prince, and still discover'd all she said. The Captain of the Castle maintain'd his Reputation for a long while, but never stirr'd from his Command. Jealousies began now to arise, so that both the Sons never went abroad together, but when one went forth the other staid behind. In short, about a Year or two before our Expedition into *Italy*, this *Lodowick* having been abroad with the young Duke, and designing some Mischief against him, waited on him back to the Castle. The Captain having order'd the Draw-bridge to be let down, and advanc'd a little Way upon it with some of his Officers, to receive the Duke and kiss his Hand accordng to the usual Custom; The Duke being at some Distance from the Bridge the Captain was forced to step forward a Pace or two; upon which the two Sons of *St. Severino*, and others that were with them, seiz'd on him and secured him. Those of the Castle pull'd up the Draw-bridge, upon which this *Lodowick* causing the End of a Candle to be lighted, swore he would cut off the Captain's Head, if they did not surrender the Castle before that Candle was burnt out; upon which they submitted, and he fortified it, and put a strong Garrison in it for himself, tho' all was done in the Duke's Name. *Lodowick* caus'd a Charge to be exhibited likewise against the Captain, upon Pretence that he would have deliver'd up the Castle to the *Emperor*; and seiz'd upon several *Germans*, which (as he gave out) were Agents in the Buliness, but discharg'd them again; and beheaded one of his Secretaries as a principal Manager of that Affair, and another



another for carrying Messages betwixt them. *Lodowick* kept the Captain a long while in Prison; but at last he releas'd him, pretending (that when the Dutcheſs of *Milan* had upon a certain Time corrupted one of his Brothers, and hir'd him to kill him as he was entring into the Caſtle) the Captain had prevented it; and upon that Account he had now ſpar'd his Life. Yet I am of Opinion, had he been guilty of a Deſign of delivering that Caſtle to the Emperor, (who had a double Title to it, as Emperor and Duke of *Austria*, which Family pretends to it likewise) he would ſcarce have excus'd him, for it would have produc'd great Diſturbance in *Italy*, and the whole State of *Milan* would have revolted in a Day; for whiſt they were under the Dominion of the Emperors; every Houſe paid but half a Ducat Taxes; but now, both Clergy, Nobility and People are miſerably oppreſs'd, and to ſpeak the Truth, under perfect Slavery.

*He that  
has the Ci-  
ty of Mi-  
lan is Lord  
of the  
whole  
Country.*

*Lodowick* being in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and finding all the Soldiers belonging to the Family devoted to his Service, reſolv'd to proceed; for he that is Maſter of *Milan* has the whole Government, and the Senate, at his Mercy; becauſe the principal Senators, and thoſe who have the Charge of other Places in that Government, have their Reſidence there; and for the Bigneſs of it I never ſaw a richer or finer Country than the Dutchy of *Milan*: And if the Prince could content himſelf with a yearly Revenue of 500000 Ducats, the Subjects would grow wealthy, and the Prince be ſecure; but he raiſes ſix hundred and fifty or ſeven hundred thouſand Ducates every Year, which is abſolute Tyranny, and makes the People ſo fond of Re- volutions. Upon this Conſideration, and what has been ſaid before, *Lodowick* (being married

to the Duke of *Ferrara's* Daughter, by whom he had several Children) prepar'd to accomplish his Designs, and took Care to strengthen himself with Friends, both in *Italy* and abroad. He first enter'd into an Alliance (for mutual Preservation) with the *Venetians*, to whom he had been a great Friend, to the Prejudice of his Father-in-law, from whom not long before, the *Venetians* had taken a small Territory call'd the *Polesan*, encompass'd entirely with Water, and wonderfully fruitful, which Place (tho' but half a League Distance from *Ferrara*) the *Venetians* keep to this day, and in it there are two pretty Towns, *Rovigo* and *Labadio*, which I have seen. This Country was lost upon the Duke of *Ferrara's* making War upon the *Venetians* at first by himself; but before the End of the War *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* (whilst his Father *Ferrand* was alive) Count *Lodowick* with the Forces of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the Pope, and the City of *Bologna*, came into his Assistance: Yet when the *Venetians* were conquer'd, or at least very low, their Treasury exhausted, their Soldiers corrupted, and several of their Towns lost, *Lodowick* made an honourable and advantageous Peace for them, by which all was to be restored to every Body but the poor Duke of *Ferrara*, who had begun the War at the Instigation of *Ferrand*, and this *Lodowick* who had married his Daughter; for the Duke of *Ferrara* was forced to let the *Polesan* remain in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who kept it to this Day. It was Reported, that *Lodowick* had sixty thousand Ducats for his Pains; whether true or false, I cannot yet determine; but I am sure the Duke of *Ferrara* was of that Opinion himself. At this time he was not married to his Daughter; and therefore the Friendship between him and the *Venetians* continued.

None



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Count Lodowick  
persuades  
Charles  
VIII. to  
undertake  
the Con-  
quest of  
Naples.

The Cha-  
racter of  
Lodo-  
wick  
Sforza.

None of all the Subjects or Relations of *John Galeas Duke of Milan*, gave *Bodowick* the least Disturbance in his Designs upon the Government, unless it were the young *Dutchess*; who was a wise Lady, Daughter to *Alphonso Duke of Calabria* (as I said before) eldest Son to *Ferrand King of Naples*. In the Year 1493. Count *Lodowick* began to solicit *Charles VIII.* now reigning in *France*, to an Expedition into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to supplant and exterminate those who possess'd it; for whilst they were in Authority *Lodowick* durst not attempt what he did afterwards; for at that time *Ferrand* and *Alphonso* his Son were both very rich, of great Experience in the Wars, and had the Reputation of being very valiant Princes; though it appear'd otherwise upon occasion. This *Lodowick* was a wise Man, but very timorous and humble where he was in awe, and false when it was for his Advnatage; and this I do not speak by hear-say, but as one that knew him well, and had many Transactions with him. But to proceed, in the Year 1493. Count *Lodowick* began to tickle King *Charles*, (who was but 22 Year of Age) with the Vanities and Glories of *Italy*, remonstrating (as is reported) the Right which he had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he knew well enough how to blazon and display. He address'd himself in every thing to *Stephen de Vers* (who was now become Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, and much enrich'd, tho' not to the Height of his ambitious Desires (and General *Brissonet*, who was rich, well skill'd in the Management of the *Finances*. and a great Man with the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, by whose Means Count *Lodowick* perswaded *Brissonet* to



turn (a) Priest, and he would make him a Cardinal; but the Seneschal was to have a Dutchy: For the better Management of these Affairs, Count Lodowick, in the Year 1493. sent a formal Embassy to the King at *Paris*: The cheif of the Embassy was the Count *di Cajazzo*, eldest Son of *Robert di St. Severino*, (whom I mention'd before.) This Count *di Cajazzo* met the Prince of *Salerno* at *Paris*, who was his Cousin, and chief of the House of *St. Severino*, and being banish'd his own Country by *Ferrand*, was then in *France*, pressing and soliciting that King to an Enterprize against *Naples*. With the Count *di Cajazzo* came also Count *Charles de (b) Bellejoyeuse*, and the Lord (c) *Galeas Visconti* of *Milan*; both of them were well attended, and in great Splendor; but their Discourse was only in publick, and then in general Terms by the way of Complement and Visitation; and this was the first solemn Embassy that ever *Lodowick* sent to the King. He had formerly sent one of his Secretaries to endeavour to procure that his Nephew the Duke of *Milan* might be permitted to do Homage for *Genoa* by Proxy, which was granted against all Appearance of Reason. 'Tis true, the King was at Liberty to do him that Favour, and depute some Person or other to receive his Homage; for when he was under the Guardianship of his Mother, I (being then Ambassador at *Milan* for the late King *Lewis XI.*) receiv'd it by Commission from the King in the

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(a) He must certainly be in Orders before that time, or else he could not have been in Possession of the Bishoprick of *St. Malo*.

(b) *Belzoioso*, in *Marco Guazzo*, whom *P. Jovius*, in the History of his Time, names *Balbianus*; and the Italian, *Balbiano*.

(c) *Galiaces*

A.D. 1493. Castle of *Milan*; but then *Genoa* was out of his Hands, and in the Possession of *Baptista di Campo-forgoso*, and now Count *Lodowick* had recover'd it, and gave 8000 Ducats (to some Persons about the King) to be invested: But they did their Master a mighty Injury, for they might have had *Genoa* as well for him; or if it must be sold, why for so little? Since Duke *Galeas* paid my Master King *Lewis* fifty thousand Ducats at one Payment, of which I had thirty thousand given me by his Majesty; and yet they pretended they received the eight thousand Ducats by the King's Consent. *Stephen de Vers* was one of the Number of those that receiv'd them, who beat down the Price to prepare and oblige *Lodowick* to his Interest, when his Design should be fit for Execution. The Ambassadors being arriv'd at *Paris*, (as I said before) and having had their publick Audience, the King took the Count *di Cajazzo* into his Closet, and had a private Conference with him for some time: This Count *di Cajazzo* was in great Reputation in *Milan*, and his Brother *John Galeas di St. Severino* was in greater, especially in military Affairs, who began to make large Offers of his Interest and Assistance to the King both in Men and Money; for his Master had already as absolute a Command of the State of *Milan* as if it had been his own, and could dispose of it as he pleas'd. He represented the Business very easie to the King, and the next day he and the Lord *Galeas* took their leave of his Majesty and departed; but Count *Charles de Bellejoieuse* remain'd behind, and to solicit it still, and immediately after they were gone, he put himself into the *French Habit*, and manag'd this Affair so dextrously, that several of the Courtiers began to approve of the Design, The King sent into  
Italy

*Italy* one (d) *Peron de Bashe* (educated in the Family of *Arjou* under *John Duke of Calabria*) as his Ambassador to (e) *Pope Innocent*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*. These Embassies from one Court to another, and secret Negotiations continued seven or eight Months, and among those who were privy to it, the Enterprize was talked of several ways; but none of them ever imagin'd that the King designed to have gone himself in Person.

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CHAP. III.

Of the Peace that was concluded between Charles VIII. the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke of Austria; and of the returning the Lady Margaret of Flanders, before this Expedition to Naples.

**D**URING this Suspension of Affairs, a Peace was negotiated at *Senlis* betwixt the King and the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Heir to the House of *Burgundy*; and tho' a Truce was already concluded, yet new Occasion of Difference arose; for the King forsook the Daughter of the King of the *Romans*, and Sister to the Arch-Duke (upon account of her being too young) and married the (f) Daughter of *Francis Duke of Bretagne*, that he might keep that Province peaceably; the greatest part of which at the Time of the Treaty was in his Possession, except the Town of *Rennes*,

*A Treaty of Peace at Senlis between Charles VIII. and Maximilian King of the Romans, and his Son Philip Arch-Duk of Austria in 1493.*

(d) *Peron de Bashe* was Steward of the Household to Charles VIII.

(e) *Innocent VIII.* who died in the Year 1492,

(f) This was Queen *Anne of Bretagne*.

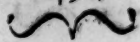


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1493.

where the young Lady lived under the Guardianship of her Uncle the Prince of *Orange*, who had been instrumental in making the Match between her and the King of the *Romans*, and married her by Proxy publicly in the Church about the Year 1492. In favour of the Arch-Duke the Emperor *Frederick* sent a solemn Embassy, and offered his Mediation. The King of the *Romans*, the Count *Palatine*, and the *Swiss* did the like, in order to compose this Difference; for they all were of opinion great Disputes would arise, and that the King of the *Romans* had very great Injury done him; not only to take from him a Person whom he thought was his Wife, but to send back his Daughter who had been lawfully married, and Queen of *France* for several Years together. In short, a Peace was concluded; for every body was weary of War, especially Duke *Philip's* Subjects, who had suffered so much both by their Wars with the King and their Distractions and Divisions at home, that they were not able to carry it on any longer. The Peace was made only for four Years, to give some Repose; and *Maximilian's* Daughter was to be sent back, tho' with some difficulty; for there were some Persons both about the King and the Lady that strenuously oppos'd it. I was at this Treaty my self with the rest of the Commissioners, who were, *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Lord *des Cordes*, and several other Persons of Quality. It was concluded, that all the King was possess'd of in the Province of *Artois*, should be restor'd to Duke *Philip*, according to the Agreement in the Treaty of Marriage in 1492. and that if that was not accomplished, that then all the Lands which went in Dower with the Daughter, should be restored, either to her or Duke *Philip*. But the Arch-

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Arch-Duke's Subjects had already surpriz'd *Arras* and *St. Omers*, so that there remain'd nothing to be restored but *Hesdin*, *Aire*, and *Bethune*; the Revenue and Lordship of which Places were immediately delivered, and they put in what Officers they pleased, only the King was to remain in possession of the Castles for the Term of four years, during which he might put what Garrisons he pleas'd into 'em; but at the End four Years, which were to expire on *St. John's Day*, 1498. the King was oblig'd, both by Oath and Promise, to restore them to the Arch-Duke. Whether these Changes of Marriages were according to the Laws and Canons of the Church or not, I cannot resolve, and therefore, shall leave it without any determination; for I find the Doctors divided about this Point, and as some have told me they were not lawful, so, others have maintained that they were. Be it which way it will, the Ladies were all unfortunate in their Children. Our Queen had three Sons successively in four Years, but all of them died, tho' one lived to be three Years old. *Madam Margaret of Austria* was married to the Prince of *Castile*, only Son to the King and Queen of *Castile* and several other Kingdoms; which Prince died the first Year of his Marriage (which was in the Year 1487.) leaving his Princess with Child, and she miscarried of a Son not long after his Death, to the unspeakable Affliction of the King and Queen of *Castile*, and the whole Kingdom. Presently after these Changes, the King of the *Romans* married the Daughter of *Galeas Duke of Milan*, Sister to the above-mention'd Duke *John Galeas*; which Marriage was contracted by Count *Lodowick*, highly to the dissatisfaction of the Princes of the Empire, and several other of the King of the *Ra-*

A. D. 1493. *mans* Friends, who look'd upon the *Lady* as not of an Extraction illustrious enough for him.

For as for the *Visconti*, from whom the present Dukes of *Milan* are descended, there is no great matter of Nobility among them, and less among the *Sforzi*; for the first of that House was Duke *Francis*, whose Father was a Shoemaker in a little Town called *Cotignole*; but he was a Brave and Magnificent Person, and his Son was a greater; for he made himself Duke of *Milan* by the Assistance and Management of his Wife, (who was the natural Daughter of Duke *Philip Mary*) conquer'd it, and possess'd it, not as a Tyrant, but as a good and lawful Prince; being equal in Virtue and Goodness with most (and those of the best) Princes of his Time. Thus much I have written, that I might shew what has already been the Consequence of these Changes; nor can I tell what there is still remaining behind.



A Treaty of Peace between King *Charles VIII.* and *Maximilian I.* King of the *Romans*, and his Son *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, concluded at *Senlis*, May 23. 1493.

I. **A** Good Peace, firm Friendship, and perpetual Alliance, is and shall ever remain between the most Christian King the Dauphin, their Kingdom, Territories and Subjects, and the King of the *Romans*, and Arch-Duke *Philip* his Son, as well in their own Name, as in the Name of the Lady *Margaret* of *Austria*, the said King's Daughter, and



and the Arch-Duke's Sister, for themselves, their Countries, Territories, Subjects, &c. laying aside all Malevolence, and forgetting all past Injuries.

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2. Seeing the most Christian King, after his Marriage to the Queen, hath notify'd by his Ambassadors to the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke, his Desire to send back the said Lady Margaret, and to have her conducted suitable to her Quality to any Place agreed on, and for this end had sent her as far as Amiens; he does still offer at his own Charge to conduct her suitable to her Quality from the Town of Meaux, where she now resides, before the 3d of June next, to St. Quintin, and to put her from thence forward into the Hands of the Ambassadors of the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke.

3. Upon such a Delivery of the said Lady into the Hands of the Commissioners appointed by the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke, the said Princes shall give proper Instruments to the King, freeing him from all Obligations of Marriage with her, who shall also do the same by her.

4. The Most Christian King and the Arch Duke reserve to themselves the Liberty of recovering any Rights in an amicable way, and by Course of Law, to such things as are not adjusted by this Peace.

5. The Counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois, and the Lordship of Noyers, with all their Appurtenances, shall be delivered up to the King of the Romans, as Guardian to his Son the Arch-Duke: And also the Towns and Castles of Helden, Aire and Bethune, now in possession of the King of France, shall be deposited in the Hands of the Marechal de Querdes who shall keep them without any Charge to the Arch-Duke, save the usual Profits taken by the Commanders of the said Places; and he shall take an Oath to the King and the Arch-Duke both, for the due Maintenance of their Rights, and shall keep no Guard therein, as may be prejudicial to either Par-

A. D. 1493. *ty, who shall engage not to oblige him there unto on either side: and if they do, he shall then be discharged of all his Oaths, till the Arch-Duke shall arrive at the Age of twenty, which will be on St. John Baptist's Eve in 1498.*

6. *The Arch-Duke, after he is of Age, having done Homage to the King in due Form, those Towns and Places shall be given up to him by the Mareschal or others, who ought to do it, and have the Command therein.*

7. *The Officers shall continue in their Places, having Commissions from the Arch-Duke till he comes of Age and does Homage.*

8. *As to the City of Arras, its Revenue and Temporalities, it shall be deposited in the Hands of the Bishop and Chapter to whom it belongs, under the ordinary Jurisdiction of the Bailiwick of Amiens, in the usual manner; and as to the Captainship, which is in the King's disposal, he shall be content to appoint the Person that now is, or shall be nominated by the Arch-Duke, till of Age, under the usual Obligations: but the City shall be entirely in the King's Power, when the Arch-Duke comes of Age.*

9. *The Houses of Flanders, Artois, and Conflans, so called in and near Paris, shall be delivered to the Arch-Duke.*

10. *The Arch Duke shall not be obliged to do Homage till he is of Age; but the King shall at the same time enjoy his usual Rights and Prerogatives.*

11. *The Counties of Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Bar-sar-Seine, shall be enjoyed by the King, till the Pretensions of the Parties are decided.*

12. *What Rights the Arch-Duke pretends to have acquired by the Treaty of 1482. shall remain in Being, and the King shall be free to controvert the same:*

13. *The Ecclesiastical Preferments conferred by the King in Artois, Burgundy, Charolois and Noyers, shall remain as they are.*

14. *Free*

14. Free Commerce shall be restored both by Sea and Land, and on fresh Waters; paying the usual Customs as before the Breaking out of the War. A.D. 1493.

15. The Cities, Towns and Villages of Tournay, Tournesis, Mortagne St. Amand, &c. as the King's Subjects, are expressly comprehended in this Peace: So are the Allies of both Parties.

16. Cambray, the Cambresis, with all its Inhabitants, are by common Consent included in the Peace, and maintained in all their Rights under either Prince to whom they belong; and the Infrastructors on either side shall be punished by the Conservators of the Peace.

17. A general Act of Indemnity shall granted by both Parties, upon the account of taking up Arms, &c. for the contrary side; no Process being ever to be formed against them; and those who have a mind to sue out a Pardon, it shall be freely granted them.

18. All Persons as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks, shall by this Peace return to the Peaceable Possession of their Dignities, Benefices and Inheritances, wherever situated on either side, and be kept in the peaceable possession of the same; notwithstanding any Declarations, Confiscations, Sentences and Arrests to the contrary; and the Judges, Magistrates, &c. shall be obliged to be assisting herein.

19. Under this Article of returning to their Estates and Rights are comprehended the old Servants of the late Dukes Philip and Charles, who after the Death of Duke Charles stuck to the King, who by virtue of this Peace shall enjoy their Pensions assigned them in his Life time upon the Demesns of the Counties of Artois and Burgundy.

20. If any Inheritance have been sold for Contumacy, or on the account of personal Debts owing: the Debtors shall, within a Year after the proclaiming of the Peace, return to their Possessions, paying the said Debts, &c.

21. As



A.D. 1493. 21. *As to the Rents, Profits and Incomes of those Inheritances granted in a way of Reward, or the like, by either Party; all that has been done of that kind since 1470. to the present Peace, shall never be accounted for; but yet with an Exception to any Inheritances that in a due Course of Law have been adjudged to Creditors for Arrearages of Rents, which Arrearages have been given away or remitted; such Gifts or Releasments shall not take place, but for such Arrearages as have escheated in time of War.*

22. *As to Moveables, which have not been made away but are found upon the Premises, which the Subjects of either Party shall return to, the Debts and Arrearages that have not been given away, nor adjudged by Law, they shall belong to the said Subjects, and not those who shall have a general List of their Moveables.*

23. *The Enjoyments of the Dignities, Benefices, Inheritances, &c. by the Subjects of either Party, shall not oblige them to reside where they are; neither are they by that bound to take an Oath to the Prince in whose Dominions they are, unless they are Fiefs and their Vassals.*

24. *Those who shall return to their Estates by Virtue of this Peace, shall not be prosecuted for Rent-Charges escheated during the War; and those Lands which lay waste and uncultivated during the War shall be liable to the Payment of no Rents.*

25. *No Reprisals shall be made after the Peate, upon the account of Damages sustained by the Subjects of either Party; nor any Letters of Mart, Contramart, or the like granted.*

26. *By this Peace all the People of Arras of whatever Condition, that have absented themselves since the Surprize of that City, where-ever they are, are free to return, and Traffick there, notwithstanding any Promises or otherwise to the contrary: And whether they do return or not, they shall as much as any of the other*

other Subjects enjoy their Estates, Rights, Benefices, Moveables and Utensils yet in being, without any Molestation whatsoever.

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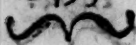
27. In like manner the People of St. Omer, of what Calling or Quality soever, who resided therein while it was Neuter, and afterwards by reason of the taking and retaking it, absented themselves from it, shall notwithstanding any Interdiction or Sentence against them, return, and enjoy their Estates, Benefices, &c. without any manner of Molestation: And all Offences and Injuries shall be entirely remitted.

28. The Lady Margaret, Widdow of Charles late Duke of Burgundy, is comprehended in this Treaty: The King consenting she shall enjoy the Lands and Seignories of Chauchnis and la Perriere, with all their Appurtenances in the Viscounty of Auxonne, in the same manner as the late Dutchesse Isabella, the Mother of Duke Charles enjoy'd them, upon the Payment of 20000 Crowns in Gold.

29. The Most Christian King names for his Allies, his imperial Majesty, the Kings of Castile, England, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Navarre, the Duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine, and all the Dukes and Branches of the House of Bavaria, the Electors of the Holy Empire, the Duke and House of Savoy, the Duke and House of Milan, the Doge and Republick of Venice, the Duke of Lorrain, the Duke of Guelderland, the Marquess and House of Montferrat, the Bishop and City of Liege, the Swiss Cantons, the Commonwealths of Florence and Genoa, : And on the part of the said King of the Romans and Arch-Duke, his Most Sacred Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Castile, Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, England and Scotland, the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, as the King of Bohemia, and others, the Marquess and House of Montferrat, the Bishop and City of Liege, and all the



A. D. the Princes of the Empire, the Swiss Cantons, Cities  
1493. and Communities of the Empire are comprehended.



30. In this Peace are also comprehended the King's Counsellor William de Harancourt, Bishop and Count of Verdun, as well in his own Person, as for his Bishoprick and County of Verdun Lordships, Subjects, &c. So are also, by the Consent of the said Princes, the Arch-bishop, and even all the Inhabitants of Briançon.

31. The respective Parties obliged themselves in the most solemn manner to the Observance of this Treaty; so they do also their Subjects, Vassals, &c.

32. Any Contravention which may happen of this Treaty on either side, shall be repaired at farthest in the space of six Weeks.

33. For the greater Confirmation of this Peace, the King of France will procure to the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke the Instruments and Seals of the Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Nemours the Counts of Angoulême, Montpensier and Vendôme; of the Prince of Orange, of the Marshalls and Admirals of France; and of the Cities, Towns and Communities of Paris, Rouen, Loyns, Poitiers, Tournai, Angers, Orleans, Amiens, and Tournay: And the King of the Romans and Arch-Duke engage to procure those of the Dukes of Saxony, Marquess of Baden, Monsieur de Ravestein, Counts Nassau and of Zollern, Prince of Chimay, and Messieurs de Bevres, Egmont, Fiennes, Chievres, Walhain, Melembais, du Fay, Fresnoy, Great Bailiff of Hainault, of the Town and Communities of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Boisleduc, Ghent, Bruges, Lille, Doway, Arras, St. Omer, Mons, Valenciennes, Dort, Middleburg and Namur. And whoever shall contravene this Treaty, without Reparation made in six Weeks, these Guarantees are then obliged to leave the Contravener, and give Assistance to the injured Party, and be discharged of their Oaths.

34. The



34. *The Instruments on both sides shall be register'd and verified in the most regular and authentick manner,* A. D. 1493.

35. *The Conservators of this Peace for the Marches on the side of the Country of Burgundy, on the King's part, are, the Prince of Orange, M. de Baudricourt Governour of Burgundy, and the Bailiffs of Dijon, Chaalons, Anthun and Mascon, or their Lieutenants: For Marches of Champaign and Rhetelois, M. de Orvat Governour of Champaign, the Bailiffs of St. Peter le Monstier, Troyes and Vitri, or their Lieutenants; and for the Marches of Picardy, the Marechal des Quarres, the Bailiffs of Amiens and Vermandois, the Seneschals of Ponthieu, Boulonois, and the Governours of Mondidier, and Roye, or their Lieutenants; and for the Sea, the Admiral, &c. The Conservators on the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke's part, for the Marches of Flanders and Artois, are, M. de Nassau, with the Governours of Lisle, Arras, and the Bailiffs of the said Countries respectively; for the Marches of Hainault, the Princes of Chimay, and the Grand Bailiff of Hainault; for Luxemburg, the Marquess of Baden; for Burgundy, the Governour of the County of Burgundy, and the Bailiffs of Damont, Daval, and Dole; and for the Sea, Monsieur de Braves, Admiral, &c.*

36. *No manner of Protection or Shelter shall be given to Vagrants, Thieves and Robbers on either side; but they shall be banished, or otherwise brought to condign Punishment where ever they are found.*

37. *The something is to be done in respect to Rovers, or Pyrats by Sea.*

38. *Neither Party shall receive or support those who shall any way contravene this Peace; but they shall be punished for the Infractions they make; but the Peace at the same time shall not be violated.*

39. *The*

A. D.  
1493.

39. The said Princes and their Officers shall assist one another against all those who shall delay or refuse to keep this Peace; and they shall on both sides be taken for common Enemies; and those who shall any way assist or favour them, shall in like manner be answerable for the Mischiefs done by them, and be punish'd as Violaters of the Peace,

## CHAP. IV.

Of the King's sending to the Venetians, in order to induce them to enter into an Alliance with him, before his undertaking his Expedition to Naples, and of the Preparation in order to it.

A very  
wise and  
politick  
Answer of  
the Vene-  
tians.



YOU have already been inform'd of the Count di Cajazzo's and other Ambassadors taking their Leave of the King at Paris; of the several secret Negotiations that were carried on in Italy; and how the Heart of our King (tho' very young) was strangely bent upon this Expedition; which however, he discover'd to no Body but the two Persons above-mention'd. His Request to the Venetians, was, that they would give him their Assistance and Council in this Expedition; and they returned this Answer: That he should be very welcome in Italy, but that they were wholly incapable of assisting him, upon Account of their continual apprehensions of the Turk (tho' at that Time they were at Peace with him;) and to undertake to advise so wise a King, who had so grave a Council, would favour of too much Presumption; but they would rather assist than disturb him in his Designs.

†

This

This they believ'd a very discreet Answer, and truly so it was ; and I am of Opinion, that their Affairs are manag'd with more Prudence and Discretion at this Day, than any Princes or States in the World : but God will still have us know, that the Wisdom and Policy of Man is of no Force, where he pleases to interpose ; for he orders Things many Times quite otherwise than they were expected. The *Venetians* did not imagine that the King would come in Person, and (whatever they pretended) they had no Apprehension of the *Turk* ; for the *Turk* who then reigned, was a Man of no Courage nor Activity : But their Design was to be reveng'd of the House of *Arragon*, both Father and Son, for whom they had a mortal Hatred, because (as they said) it was at their Instigation that the *Turks* fell upon them at *Scutari* : I mean the Father of this (b) *Turk*, called *Mahomet*, who did abundance of Mischief besides, to the *Venetians* : They had several Complaints against *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, and among the rest, that he had been the Occasion of the War which the Duke of *Ferrara* made upon them, which was very expensive, and had like to have prov'd their Ruin. They complained also that he had sent a Man to *Venice* to poison their Cisterns, at least such as he could come at ; for some are kept under Lock and Key. In that City they use little other Water ; (for they are wholly surrounded by the Sea) but that Water is very good, and I drank of it eight Months together in my first Embassy thither, (for I was there since.) But these were not the true Reasons of their Animosity to the House of *Arragon* ; the real Occasion was, be-

A. D.

1493.

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(b) *Bajazet* II. Son of *Mahomet*, who succeeded his Father in 1481. and died in 1512.



A. D. 1493. cause the Father and Son restrain'd them, and kept them from extending their Conquests both in *Italy* and *Greece*; for their Eyes were upon them on every side; and yet without any Title or Pretence they had lately subdued (c) the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. Upon these Considerations the *Venetians* thought it highly for their Advantage, that a War should be begun between our King, and the House of *Arragon*; hoping it would not have been brought to a Conclusion so soon as it was, and that it would only weaken the Power of their Enemies, and not utterly destroy them: and then (let what would happen) one Side or other would give them Towns in *Apuglia* (which borders upon their Gulf) for their Assistance; and so it happen'd, but they had like to have been mistaken in their Reckoning. Besides, they thought to have transacted Affairs so secretly, that no body could have accus'd them of inviting our King into *Italy*, since they had neither given him Council nor Assistance, as appear'd to the World by their Answer to *Peron de Basche*.

A. D. 1494. In the Year (d) 1494. the King advanced to *Lyons*, to examine into his Affairs; but no Body ever imagin'd he would have passed the Mountains himself. He was met there by the Lord *Galeas di St. Severino*, Brother to the Count *di Cajazzo*, with a numerous Retinue, on the part of Count *Lodowick*, whole Lieutenant and Chief Minister he was. He brought him Arms, and abundance of fine Horses dress'd on purpose for a Turnament: He tilted very well himself, was young, and a fine Gentleman; and the King used him according to his Merit, entertain'd

(c) The *Venetians* conquer'd the Kingdom of *Cyprus* in the Year 1473. which was taken from them by *Selim II.* Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1571.

(d) Some Authors say 'twas in the Year 1493.

A. D.

1494.

him with a great deal of Honour, and made him a Knight of his own Order; after which he return'd into *Italy*, but the Count *de Bellejoyeuse* staid with the King to promote his Expedition. By this time a great Fleet was preparing at *Genoa*, where the Lord *d'Urse* Master of the Horse, and several others, were negotiating the King's Affairs. At length, about the beginning of *August* that Year, the King removed to *Vienn* in *Dauphinè*, and the Nobility of *Genoa* resorted to him daily. The King also sent to *Genoa* at that time *Lewis* (e) Duke of *Orleans*, now King of *France*, a young Prince, and very handsome, but much addicted to his Pleasures. It was the Opinion of every Body at that time, that he was to command the Army in chief; and that it was to have been embark'd and landed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the Assistance and Direction of the Prince of *Salerno* and *Basignano*, whom we have mention'd before. They had gotten fourteen great Ships, besides several Gallies and Galeons, ready at *Genoa*; and the King was as much obey'd in those Parts as at *Paris*, for the City belong'd to the State of *Milan*, where Count *Lodowick* govern'd, without any Competitor but the Duke his Nephew's Wife, Daughter to King *Alphonso* (for at that time his Father King *Ferrand* was dead :) But the poor Lady had no great Power, since the King's Army was ready to march, and her Husband a weak Prince, and discover'd whatever she said, to her Uncle, who had already caused a Messenger to be drown'd that she had sent to her Father.

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(e) *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Brother-in-law to *Charles VIII.* afterwards *XII.* King of *France*.

A. D.  
1494.

The equipping of this Fleet was very expensive, and I believe cost no less than three hundred thousand Franks, which quite exhausted the King's Treasury; and yet did him no great Service after all his Expence, for as I observed before, neither his Exchequer his Understanding, nor his Preparations were sufficient for such an important Enterprize, and yet by the meer Favour of Providence he succeeded in it, which was visibly manifest to all the World. I do not say that the King wanted Wisdom, considering his Age; but he was but two and twenty Years old, and not as yet capable of understanding State-Affairs. Those who were the chief Managers of this Affair (I mean *Stephen de Vers Senelchal* of *Beaucaire*, and *Monsieur Briffonet*, at present Cardinal of *St. Malo*) were two Persons of indifferent Fortunes, and less Experience, which made the Power of God more conspicuous; for our Enemies were reputed Wise, Warlike, and Rich, well furnished with Councillors and Officers, and in Possession of the whole Kingdom: I speak of *Alphonso* of *Arragon* (newly crown'd by Pope *Alexander*) who was in Amity both with the *Florentines* and the *Turks*. King *Alphonso* had a Son called *Don Ferrand*, a hopeful Gentleman of about two or three and twenty Years old, perform'd his Exercises very well, and was extreamely belov'd in that Kingdom; and a Brother called *Don Frederick* (who was King after the Death of *Ferrand*) a Wise Prince, and Admiral of their Fleet, who was educated a long time on this side the Mountains, and one that you, my Lord of *Vienn*, have often (by your Skill in Astrology) assured me would be King; and he promised me (upon my telling him of it) a Pension of 4000 Livres, if it prov'd true, as it did twenty Years afterwards.

But



But to proceed. The King chang'd his Resolution, being prevail'd upon by the Duke of Milan's Letters, the Importunity of Charles de Bellejoyeuse his Ambassador, and his two Ministers above-mention'd ; but by Degrees Briffonet's Courage began to fail him, finding that all sober and rational Persons condemn'd the Expedition, as beginning in *August*, without Money, and every thing else that was necessary to carry it on. So that the Seneschal was the only Man that was consulted ; for the King looked sour upon Monsieur Briffonet for three or four Days, but he was reconcil'd to him afterwards. About this time one of the Seneschal's Servant died of the Plague, and he durst not appear at Court ; which was a great Mortification to him, for there was no Body else to carry on the Design. The Duke and Dutcheß of *Bourbon* were with the King, and us'd all their Interest to hinder this Expedition, and Monsieur Briffonet did the same ; so that one Day it was laid aside, and the other reviv'd. At last the King resolved to march, and thinking to pass the Mountains more commodiously in small Bodies, I mounted on Horse-back, and advanced before ; but was countermanded, and assured that Design was given over. The same Day fifty thousand Ducates were taken up of a Merchant of *Milan*, but the Count *Lodowick* was Security to the Merchant. I was engaged for six thousand of that Sum, and others for the rest ; but it was borrow'd without Interest. Before that, we had borrowed of the Bank of *Soly* in *Genoa*, a hundred thousand Franks, the Interest of which in four Months amounted to 14000 Franks ; but some People said the Persons above-mention'd kept part of the Money for their own private Use.

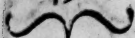
A. D.

1492.

The general Opinion of King Charles's Expedition to Naples.

A.D.

1492.



## CHAP. V.

Of King Charles's setting out from Vienne in Dauphinè to conquer Naples in Person; and the Action that was performed by his Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of Orleans.

Charles VIII. forced to borrow Jewels of several Princesses to carry on the War in Italy.



IN short, the King, on the three and twentieth of August, 1494. set out from Vienne in Dauphinè towards Asti. At Suza the Lord Galeas di St. Severino came Post to meet his Majesty, who advanc'd from thence to Turin, where he borrow'd the Jewels of Madam de Savoy, Daughter to the late William Marquis of Monferrat, and Widow to Charles Duke of Savoy: Having pawn'd them for twelve thousand Ducats, he removed a few Days after to Casale to the Marchioness of Montferrat, Widow of the late Marquis of Montferrat, a young and prudent Lady, and Daughter to the King of Servia. The Turk having over-run her Country, the Emperor (in respect of the Relation betwixt them) took care of her, and married her there. She also lent the King her Jewels, and they were engag'd as the other for twelve thousand Ducats; by which you may see what a prosperous Beginning there was of this War, had not God himself interpos'd. The King continu'd at Asti for some time. The Wines in Italy were sower this Year; and therefore not at all agreeable to the French, no more than the excessive Heat of the Air. Count Lodowick and his Lady came with a numerous Retinue to wait on his Majesty; they staid there two Days, and then

then removed to a Castle call'd *Non*, about a League from *Asti*, belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which Place the King's Council resorted to him daily. A. D. 1494

King *Alphonso* had two Armies in the Field, one in *Romania* towards *Ferrara* under the Command of his Son; who was attended by the Lord *Virgil Urfin*, the Count *de Pitelhane*, and the Count *John James di Trivulce*, who at this time are in our Interest. To face this Body of Forces, there was the Lord *d'Aubigny* on the King's side, a wise Man, and a brave Officer, and with him about 200 *French* Men at Arms, and 500 *Italians* in the King's Service, commanded by the Count *di Cajazzo* above mention'd, as an Officer under Count *Lodowick*. They were in great pain for this Brigade; for if they had been defeated, we should have retired, and have left Count *Lodowick* to shift for himself; and the Enemy had a strong Party in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The other Army, which was commanded by *Don Frederick*, *Alphonso's* Brother, was at Sea; and the Fleet that had this Body of Forces on Board, lay at *Pisa* and *Leghorne* (for the *Florentines* espous'd their Interest) and with it a certain Number of Gallies commanded by (a) *Breto di Flisco*, and other Officers of *Genoa*, by whose Assistance they were in hopes of making themselves Masters of that City; and they mis'd it but narrowly. They landed some thousands of Men at *Specie* and *Rapalo*, and had they not met with a timely Opposition, 'tis probable they had carried their Point; but that very Day, or the next, the Duke of *Orleans* arriv'd there with some Ships, a good Number of Gallies, and one great Galeass which was mine, and commanded

(a) *Obletto*, according to the Annals of *Genoa*.



A. D. 1494. by *Albert Mely*. The Duke and chief Persons in that Army were on board my Galeas, and several great Pieces of Cannon (for she was very strong;) and getting as near the Shore as possible, they canonaded the Enemy so briskly with their Great Guns (which till that time were unknown in *Italy*) that they beat them from their Post, landed what Soldiers they had in the Ships; and from *Genoa* by Land (where the whole Army lay there came to them a considerable Body of *Swiss*, commanded by the (b) Bailiff of *Dijon*. There were other Reinforcements also sent from the Duke of *Milan*, under the Command of the Lord *John Lewis di Flisco*, Brother to the above-mention'd *Breto*, and the Lord *John Adorni*; these were not in the Engagement, yet they did their Duty, and maintain'd several Passes with a great deal of Courage and Resolution. In short, by the Strength of these Reinforcements our Army attack'd and utterly defeated the Enemy, of whom about a hundred or sixscore were killed in the Pursuit, and about eight or ten taken Prisoners, among whom there was one (c) Signior *Fregosa*, Son to the Cardinal of *Genoa*. Those who were taken were stript by the Duke of *Milan's* Soldiers, and dismiss'd; for in *Italy* that is the Law of Arms. I had a sight of all Letters which brought an Account of this Victory to the King and the Duke of *Milan*: And after this manner was the Army defeated, and never afterwards

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(b) *Anthony de Bessey* Baron of *Trichastle*, Son of *John de Bessey* and *Joan de Saulx*, mention'd afterwards, *Book VIII. Chap. 6, and 8.*

(c) *John Fregosa* natural Son of *Paul Fregosa*, Cardinal, Arch-Bishop, and Duke of *Genoa*. See *Book VII. Chap. 5.*

durst approach us. Upon our Return to *Genoa* the Citizens began to rise up in Arms, and slew several *Germans* that were in the City; but the Tumult was soon appeas'd, after some of the Ring-leaders of the Insurrection were kill'd.

A. D.

1494.

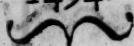
Something must be said of the *Florentines*, who sent two Embassies to the King of *France* before his setting out upon this Expedition; but their Design was only to wheedle and amuse him. The first time the Seneschal, Monsieur *Brissonet*, and my self, were deputed to treat with their Ambassadors, who were the Bishop of *Arezzo*, and one *Peter Soderini*. Our Demands were only to grant us Passage for our Troops, and a Hundred Men at Arms to be paid by them after the *Italian* Establishment, (which is but ten thousand Ducats a Month.) The Ambassadors reply'd according to the Instructions that were given them by *Peter de Medicis*, a young Man of no extraordinary Parts, Son of *Laurence de Medicis* lately deceased, who had been one of the wisest Men of his Time, govern'd the City almost as a Prince, and left it in the same Condition to his Son. Their Family had been of about two Generations, *Laurence* the Father of this *Peter*, and *Cosmo* who founded it, and was worthily to be reckon'd among the chief of that Age: Considering their Profession (which was Merchandizing) I think this Family was the greatest in the World; for their Factors and Agents had so much Reputation upon their account, that 'tis scarce credible. I have seen the Effect of it in *England* and *Flanders*: I saw one *Gerard Quauvese* who kept King *Edward* upon his Throne, almost upon his own Credit, during the Time of the Civil Wars in that Kingdom; for he furnished the King at different times with sixscore thousand Crowns, but not at all to his Master's Advantage,

The great Riches and Reputation of the Family of the Medicis in Florence.



A. D.

1494.



tho' at length he got it again. I knew also another, one *Thomas Portunay*, who was Security between King *Edward* and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, for five hundred thousand Crowns, and another time for eighty thousand. I cannot commend Merchants for doing so; but it is highly commendable in a Prince to be punctual with them, and keep his Promise exactly; for he knows not how soon he may want their Assistance; and certainly a little Money at some critical Juncture of Affairs does Wonders.

This Family of the *Medicis* was look'd upon to be in a declining Condition (as illustrious Houses will decay in all Kingdoms and Governments) for the Authority of his Predecessors was a great prejudice to *Peter*; tho' indeed *Cosmo*, the first of it, was mild and gentle in his Administration, and behav'd himself as he ought to do in a free Government. *Laurence*, the Father of *Peter* (of whom we are now speaking) upon occasion of the Difference betwixt him and the *Pisans* above-mentioned (in which several of them were hang'd) had a Guard of twenty Soldiers assign'd him, for the Security of his Person, by an Order from the Senate, which at that Time acted nothing without his Direction and Approbation. However, he govern'd very moderately; for (as I said before) he was a wise Man; but his Son *Peter* thought it his due, and employed his Guards to the Terror and Vexation of his People, committing great Injuries and Insolencies by them in the Night, and invading the common Treasure, which his Father had done too before him, but manag'd it so prudently, that the People were almost satisfied with his Proceedings.

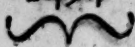
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The second time *Peter* sent as his Ambassadors, A. D. to *Loin*, *Peter Caponi*, and others, excusing him- 1494. self as he had done before, that King *Lewis XI* had commanded the *Florentines* to make Peace with King *Ferrand* in the time of *John Duke of Anjou*, and to forsake the Alliance of the Duke; alledging, that since it was by Command of the late King of *France* that they had entered into an Alliance with the House of *Arragon*, and the Term of the said Alliance not being to expire for some Years, they could not in Justice desert it: However, if his Majesty enter'd their Territories, they would rather assist than oppose him; but they thought no more of his coming in Person than the *Venetians* did. In both these Embassies there was some Body still who was an Enemy to the *Medicis*, and at this time more particularly *Peter Caponi*, who often inform'd us what Measures were to be taken in order to make the City of *Florence* revolt from *Peter de Medicis*, traducing him more sharply than he really deserv'd: He advis'd the King to banish all *Florentines* out of our Kingdom, and so he did. I mention'd this Particular, that you may more easily understand the Sequel of these Memoirs; for the King had conceiv'd a great Enmity against *Peter de Medicis*; and the Seneschal and Monsieur *Brissonet* held great Intelligence with his Enemies in the City, especially with this *Caponi*, and with two of *Peter's* Cousin Germans of his own Name.

The Flo-  
rentines  
banish'd  
France.

## C H A P.



## CHAP. VI.

Of the King's Resolution at Asti to go in Person into the Kingdom of Naples, by the Persuasion and Advice of Lodowick Sforza: Of Philip de Comines's being sent in an Embassy to Venice: of the Duke of Milan's Death, and of Count Lodowick's making himself Duke in prejudice of a Son of the late Duke of Milan.



I Have given an Account of the Engagement at Rapalo by Sea: Don Frederick (upon this Defeat) retir'd to Pisa, and Legborne, without staying for the Forces which he had put on shore; at which the Florentines were highly disgusted, as being always in their own Minds more inclinable to favour the French than the House of Arragon: And our Army in Romania, tho' the weaker of the two, yet it had better Fortune than the other, and forc'd the Duke of Calabria to give ground by degrees; which the King observing, he took a Resolution to march forward, being solicited to do it by Count Lodowick, and others whom I have mentioned before; and at his Arrival Count Lodowick saluted him after this manner.

Sir, do not fear the Success of this Enterprize in the least; Italy consists but of three Estates that are considerable: Milan, which is one of them, is yours already; the Venetians are Neutral, and you will have to do only with Naples. When we were united, and join'd together in a mutual Alliance, several of your Predecessors have been too powerful for us. If

you

A. D.

1494.

you would be rul'd by me, I would assist in making you greater than Charlemagne; for when you have conquer'd the Kingdom of Naples, we will easily drive this Turk out of the Empire of Constantinople. If he meant it of the Turk who now reigns, it was likely enough; but Affairs on our side must have been manag'd more wisely. Upon this the King began to be wholly govern'd by Count Lodowick, which highly displeas'd some of our Courtiers, among whom there was one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and I know not who besides; but there Resentment was to no purpose, no Body took notice of them; for what they did, was but in Complaisance to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended to the Dutchy of Milan. But above all, none was so much disgusted as Monsieur Brissonet, who now began to look upon himself as a considerable Person, and was become the Seneschal's Rival in Power; and Lodowick having propos'd to the King and the Seneschal to leave him behind, he was highly incens'd against the Count, talk'd bitterly against him, and endeavour'd to possess all People that he would leave them in the lurch. It had been more Wisdom in him to have been silent; but he was never employ'd in, nor indeed fit for any Affairs of State; for he had not the Command of his Tongue by any means, tho' otherwise he was very well affected to his Master. The Conclusion of all was, that several Ambassadors should be sent, and I among the rest to Venice. I put off my Journey for some Days, because the King was fallen sick of the Small Pox, and being taken with a high Fever besides, was thought to be in danger; but it lasted not above five or six Days, so that I resolv'd upon my Journey, and left the King at Asti, not suspecting in the least, that he would have

Philip de  
Comines  
sent in an  
Embassy by  
Charles  
VIII. to  
Venice.



A.D. 1494. have proceeded any farther. In six Days time, I arriv'd, with my Mules and Train, all safe at Venice; for the Way was extreme good. I was very unwilling to depart, as fearing the King would have gone back; but God had otherwise appointed. The King marched directly for Pavia by the way of Casale, where he visited the Marchioness of Montferrat, a Lady much in our Interest, but a great Enemy to Count Lodowick, and he as much to her. The King was no sooner at Pavia, but Jealousies began to arise; they would have had the King to lodge in the Town, and not in the Castle; but nothing would serve his turn but the Castle, and lie there he did, and his Guards were doubled; and not without cause, for as some told me since, who were then with him, he was in manifest Danger. Count Lodowick was much surpriz'd at it, and question'd the King about it, whether he was suspicious of him. In short, Things were so carried on both sides, that the Amity was not like to last long: But our People were the most indiscreet in their Language; not the King, but some of his nearest Relations. In this Castle of Pavia there was at that time John Galeas Duke of Milan (whom I have mention'd before) and his Dutches, the Daughter of King Alphonso. The Dutches look'd very melancholy; for her Husband was dangerously sick, and kept in that Castle under a kind of Restraint, with her self, her Son, and one or two of her Daughters: Her Son is still living, and was then about five Years of Age. No Body might see the Duke, but any one might see the Child. I pass'd that way three Days before the King but was inform'd of the Duke's Illness, and of his not being willing to give me Leave to pay my Respects to him; However, the King was permitted

permitted to visit him when he came, for he was his Cousin German. His Majesty told me since, the Subject of their Discourse was only in general Terms, for he was unwilling to disoblige Count *Lodowick* in any thing: Yet he had a great Mind (as he said) to have given him Notice of the Designs against him. At the same time the Dutchess threw herself at Count *Lodowick's* Feet, and begg'd of him to have Compassion on her Father and Brother; he replied it was not in his Power; but she had more Reason to have petition'd for her Husband and her self; for she was young and very beautiful.

A.D.

1494.

From thence the King marched to *Placenza*, where Count *Lodowick* was inform'd that his Nephew the Duke of *Milan* lay a dying; he took his Leave of the King, and being press'd to return, he promis'd it faithfully. Before he reach'd *Pavia*, the Duke was dead; upon which he went post immediately to *Milan*; this I saw in a Letter which the *Venetian* Ambassador that was with him wrote to *Venice*, assuring the Senate of his Design to make himself Duke. 'Tis certain both Duke of *Venice* and Senate were much against it, and ask'd me if my Master would not espouse the young Duke's Interest? Tho' the thing was but reasonable; yet knowing how necessary the Count's Interest and Assistance were to the carrying on our Designs, my Answer was in doubtful Terms. In short, he made himself Duke of *Milan*, and (as many affirm'd) that was his Design of inviting and drawing us into *Italy*. He was charg'd also with the Death of his Nephew, whose Friends and Relations put themselves into a Condition to have wrested the Government out of his Hands, and they might easily have done it, had it not been for his Alliance with our King; for they had

A. D. 1494. had already assembled their Forces in *Romania*, as you have heard, but the Count *di Cajazzo*, and Monsieur *d' Aubigny* made them retire; for Monsieur *d' Aubigny*, with about a hundred and fifty or two hundred *French-men* at Arms, and a good Body of *Swissers*, advancing upon them, Don *Ferrand* and the rest retreating towards their Friends, decamping still about half a Day before us, towards (a) *Forli*, which belong'd to a Lady that was a Bastard of the House of *Milan*, and Widow of Count *Hieronimo*, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus*. It was reported, that she favour'd their Party; but our Men having batter'd a small Town of hers for some time, they took it by storm; upon which, (and the Inclination she had to us before) she came over to our side. The People of *Italy* began generally to assume new Courage, and be desirous of Novelty; for they saw that which they had never seen before; and that was the Use of great Guns, which tho' frequent in *France*, was not till then known in *Italy*. Don *Ferrand* retreated towards his own Kingdom, and marched for *Cesenna*, a City of the Pope's in the Marquisate of *Ancona*; but the People stripp'd and plunder'd all the Stragglers they could meet with; for they were dispos'd all over *Italy* to revolt, had things been manag'd wisely on our part, without Violence and Plunder. But all was done quite contrary, at which I was extremely concern'd; for by this ungenerous Way of Proceeding we lost all the Honour and Renown that the *French* Nation might otherwise have gain'd in that Expedition. At our first

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(a) 'Twas anciently call'd *Forum Livii*, according to the Discription of old *Italy*.



Enterance into *Italy*, we were ador'd like Saints and every body thought us People of the greatest Goodness and Sincerity in the World ; but that Opinion lasted not long, our own Disorders, and the Clamours and false Reports of our Enemies quickly convinc'd them of the contrary, for they accus'd us where-ever they came with all imaginable Rapacity, plundering and robbing their Houses, and ravishing their Wives and Daughters when-ever they fell into our hands. Nor could they have invented any thing to have render'd us more odious ; for they are the most jealous and avaricious People in *Italy*, of any in *Europe*. As to our ravishing of the Women, they wrong'd us, but for the rest there was too much Truth in it.

A. D.

1494.

CHAP. VII.

Of Peter de Medicis's putting four of his strongest Garrisons into the King's Possession ; and of his Restoring Pisa, (which was one of them) to its ancient Liberty.



THE King (as you have heard) was at (a) *Placenza*, when he order'd a solemn Funeral for his Cousin German the Duke of *Milan*, and indeed he knew not how else to spend his time, since Count *Lodowick* the new Duke had left him. Those who had an Opportunity of being well acquainted with these Affairs have told me, that the whole Army understanding how ill they were

Charles VIII.

makes a sumptuous

Funeral

for the Duke of Milan.

(a) A neat populous and pleasant City in the Dukedom of *Parma*, situated upon the *Po*.

provided

A.D. 1494. provided with every thing necessary for such an Expedition, had a great Inclination to have return'd; and that those who were the chief Promoters of it at first began now to condemn it, as the Lord *d'Urse*, Master of the Horse, (tho' at that time sick at *Genoa*) for he wrote a Letter upon some Intelligence that he pretended to receive, which encreas'd and heighten'd their former Fears and Apprehensions, but God (as I said before) conducted this Enterprize; for the King had receiv'd the unexpected News, that the new Duke of *Milan* was upon his Return, and that the *Florentines* were dispos'd to an Alliance with us, in Opposition to *Peter de Medicis*, who play'd the Tyrant among them, to the great Dissatisfaction of his nearest Relations and several other considerable Families in that City, as the *Caponi*, the *Soderini*, the *Nerli*, and almost the whole Town: Upon which the King left *Placenza*, and march'd towards the Territories of the *Florentines* to force them to declare for him, or to seize upon their Towns, which were but in an ill Posture of Defence, and take up his Winter-Quarters in them, which was already begun. Several small places received him very readily, and among the rest *Lucca*, which at that time was at War with *Florence*; the Duke of *Milan* had always advis'd the King to take up his Quarters in those Parts, and advance no farther that Winter, in Hopes by the King's Interest and Favour to get into his own Possession *Pisa*, (a strong and fair City) *Sarzana* and *Pietro Sancto*; for the two last had belong'd lately to *Genoa*, and had been taken from them by the *Florentines*, in the time of *Laurence de Medicis*.

Providence  
the Manager  
of this  
Expedition  
into Italy.

The King march'd by *Pontromolo*, which belongs to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and besieged *Sarzana* the strongest Castle the *Florentines* had; but

A. D.

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but ill provided by reason of their Divisions, and to say true, the *Florentines* never fight willingly against the *French*, for they have been always faithful and serviceable to them in respect of their Trade and Interest in that Kingdom; as also upon account of being (b) *Guelphs*. Had *Serzana* been furnish'd as it ought to have been, the King's Army had certainly been ruin'd in besieging it; for the Country is mountainous, and barren, full of Snow, and not able to supply us with Provisions; the King lay before it but three Days, and the Duke *Milan* came to him before any Composition. Having passed thro' *Pontremolo*, the Citizens and Garrison fell out with our *Germans*, (which were commanded by one *Buffer*) and in the Dispute some of our *Germans* were slain. I was not present at this Action my self; but I have been inform'd of it both by the King, the Duke, and several others that were there; and this Accident produc'd great Inconveniencies, as you'll know hereafter. Our Affairs went smoothly on at *Florence*, and were brought to that height, that fifteen or sixteen Persons were deputed to attend the King; the Citizens publickly declaring they would not expose themselves to the Displeasure of the King and the Duke of *Milan*, who had a Resident in *Florence*, and *Peter de Medicis* was forc'd to concur; for as Matters then stood, he knew not how to avoid it, and to have done otherwise would have ruin'd them, considering how ill they were both provided and disciplin'd. Upon their Ambassadors Arrival, they offer'd

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(b) The *Guelphs* and the *Gibelines* were two Factions that begun in *Italy* in the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick II*. The former espous'd the Pope's Interest, and the latter the Emperor's, in the Year 1240.



A. D. 1494. to receive the King into *Florence*, and what other Places his Majesty pleas'd ; the Designs of most of them being fixt upon his Journey to *Florence*, which they thought would conduce to the Expulsion of *Peter de Medicis* ; and they press'd it very earnestly by the Friends they had gain'd about the Court, whom I have often mention'd before.

On the other hand, *Peter de Medicis* manag'd his Affairs as diligently, by one *Laurence Spinoli*, his Factor, who (govern'd his Bank at *Lions*,) was a Man of Integrity, and had liv'd a considerable time in *France* ; but could not get Intelligence of the secret Affairs of our Court ; nor indeed could they who liv'd constantly in it depend upon any thing, their Counsels were so various : However, *Spinoli* practis'd with those who had Authority there, as the Lord *de Bresse* (since Duke of *Savoy*) and the Lord *de Myolans*, who was Chamberlain to the King. As soon as the *Florentine* Ambassadors were return'd, *Peter de Medicis*, and some of his Friends, waited on the King, with their Answers to what had been demanded : They perciev'd the inevitable Ruin of the City would be the Consequence of disputing any thing the King thought fit to require ; wherefore they resolv'd to gain his Favour, by doing something extraordinary, beyond what the rest of the States of *Italy* had done. Upon the News of their Approach, the Lord *de Piennes*, a Native of *Flanders*, and Chamberlain to the King, and Monsieur *Briffonet*, (whom I have so often mentioned before) were appointed to meet them : They propos'd the Surrender of *Serzana* to *Peter de Medicis*, which was immediately done : They demanded farther, that he would give the King Possession of *Pisa*, *Leghorne*, *Pietro Sancto*, and *Librefacto*, and he granted it, without

without communicating with his Collegues, who were told, that the King was to be receiv'd into *Pisa*, and stay there some time to refresh his Troops; but they never thought those Places were to be continued in his Hands. However, he had put their whole Power and Fortunes into our Custody. Those who manag'd this Treaty with *Peter de Medicis* have often told me and other People, (smiling and laughing at his Condescensions) that they were astonish'd at them, and that he had made several Concessions, which they had scarce the Confidence to demand. In short, the King entred *Pisa*, and the Ambassadors return'd to *Florence*, where *Peter de Medicis* order'd Lodgings to be prepar'd for the King in his own House, which is the fairest and best furnish'd for a Merchant and Man of his Quality of any in *Europe*.

We must now say something of the D. of *Milan*, who was already grown weary of the King; and heartily wish'd him out of *Italy*, that he might still keep the Possession of such Places as were deliver'd up by the *Florentines*. He press'd the King very hard to have *Savzana* and *Pietra Santa* restor'd to him, which he said belong'd to the *Genoese*, and at the same time he lent the King 30000 Ducats, upon which (as he told me and several others since) he was promis'd he should have them; but finding he could not get them, he was highly disgusted at it, and pretending his Affairs requir'd him at home, left the King, who never saw him afterwards: But he order'd the Lord *Galeas di St. Severino* to stay with the King, giving him Instructions that he should be present in all Councils with the Count *Charles de Bellejoyeuse* whom I have mention'd before. During the King's Stay at *Pisa*, the Lord *Galeas*, at his Master's Instigation invited several of the chief

A. D.

1494.

*The Artifices and Stratagems of Lodowick Sforza, Usurper of the Dukedom of Milan.*

A. D. 1494. Citizen of the Town to his Lodging ; and persuaded them to rebel against the *Florentines*, and petition the King to restore them to their Liberty, hoping by this Means that the City would fall again into the Duke of *Milan's* Hands, where it had formerly been in the time of Duke *John Galeas* the first Duke of *Milan* of that Name ; which *John* was a great Tyrant, but liv'd very honourably. His Body lies in the Charter-house at *Pavia*, not far from the Park, it is laid much higher than the Altar ; the Monks shew'd it me (or at least his Bones) with a Ladder, which were no sweeter than Nature permitted. One of the Monks, who was born at *Burges*, in Discourse call'd him *Saint* ; I whisper'd him in the Ear, and ask'd him why he gave him the Title of *Saint* ; for one might see painted about him, the Arms of several Cities which he had wrongfully usurp'd ; besides, his Horse and he being of fine Marble, were plac'd above the Altar, and yet his Body lay under the Feet of his Horse : He answer'd me softly, *In this Country we call all Saints who do us any good, and he built this Church ; which is of fair Marble, and indeed the best I ever saw in my Life of that kind.*

*The Pisans  
cruelly  
us'd by the  
Florentines.*

But to proceed, this *Galeas di St. Severino* had an Ambition to be a great Man, and *Lodowick* Duke of *Milan* (whose Bastard Daughter he had married) seem'd ambitious of making him so ; for his own Children were not old enough as yet. The *Pisans* had been cruelly treated by the *Florentines*, and used as their Slaves ; for they had been conquer'd by them about 100 Years, much about the time in which the *Venetians* subdued the Country and City of *Padua*, which was their first Acquisition upon the *Terra firma*. These two Cities were much alike ; they had been



been long Enemies to those who had the Government of them ; they were almost equal in Power, and it was a great while before they could be conquer'd. The *Pisans* call'd a Council, and finding themselves encourag'd by so great a Person, and being naturally desirous of Liberty, as the King was going to Mass, a great Number of Women and Men cried out to him, *Liberty, Liberty*, begging of him with Tears in their Eyes that he would vouchsafe to restore it. There was at that Time one *Rabot*, a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Dauphinè*, and then either actually Master of the Requests, or executing that Office for some body else, who (having promised to do so, or not well understanding the Nature of their Demands) acquainted the King (as he was walking before him) with the deplorable Condition of the *Pisans*, and told his Majesty, he ought in Justice to redress their Wrongs, for never People had been so tyrannically dealt with. The King not understanding what they meant by that Word *Liberty*, and beginning to commiserate the Afflictions of *Italy*, and the Miseries the poor Subject endures both under Prince and Common-wealth, reply'd, he was willing it should be so ; tho' (to speak Truth) he had no Authority to do it ; for the Town was not his own, and he was receiv'd into it only in Friendship, and to relieve him in his present Necessities. Monsieur *Rabot* having told them the King's Answer, the People began immediately to fill the Streets with Acclamations of Joy, and runing to the end of the Bridge upon the River *Arno*, they pulled down a great Lion call'd *Mazorco*, which stood upon a Marble Pillar, and represented the Government of *Florence*, and threw it into the River. When they had so done, they caus'd another to be set up of the

The *Pisans*  
restor'd to  
their *Li-*  
*berty* by  
Charles  
VIII.

A. D.

1494.

King of *France*, with his Sword in his Hand, and the *Mazorco* or Lion under his Horse's Feet. After that, when the King of the *Romans* came to that Town, they serv'd the King of *France's* Statue as they had serv'd the poor Lion; for 'tis the Humour of the *Italians* to side with the strongest always; but these *Pisans* were, and are still, so barbarously treated, they ought in Justice to be excus'd for what they do.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the King's Departure from Pisa towards Florence; and of the Flight and Destruction of Peter de Medicis.*



THE King stay'd not long there, but departed for *Florence*; where they complained to him of the Injury he had done to the *Florentines*, and that it was not according to his Promise, to restore the *Pisans* to their Liberty. Those whom he appointed to answer their Memorial, excus'd it in the best Manner they could; alledging, that his Majesty was not rightly inform'd, nor did he understand any thing of another Agreement, of which I shall say something hereafter. But in the first place I must speak of the Fortune of *Peter de Medicis*; of the King's Entrance into *Florence*; and of the Garrisons that his Majesty left in *Florence*, *Pisa*, and other Places, which the *Florentines* had lent him. After *Peter de Medicis*, by the Consent of some few of his Colleagues, had deliver'd up the above-mention'd Towns to the King, he return'd to *Florence*, supposing the King would not have kept them, but that after he had refresh'd himself for three or four Days, and had left *Pisa*, they would have been

been deliver'd him again. I am of Opinion, that had the King propos'd to them to have staid there the whole Winter they would easily have consented to it; tho' *Pisa*, except in the numbers of the People, and the richness of their Furniture, is of greater Value and Importance to them than *Florence* it self. *Peter de Medicis*, upon his Return to *Florence*, was but coldly received by the People, who look'd discontentedly upon him, and not without Reason; for he had disarm'd them of their Power and Authority, and robb'd them of all the Conquests they had gain'd for a hundred Years before; so that their Hearts seem'd to presage the Calamities which have happen'd to them since. For this Cause (which I believe was the principal, tho they never declar'd it) for the Hatred they bore him, (as I have said before) and for the Recovery of their Liberties, which they desir'd impatiently, (without any Respect to the Services of *Cosmo* and *Laurence* his Predecessors, they resolv'd to drive him out of the Town. *Peter de Medicis* having some Intelligence, but no certain Knowledge of their Designs, went to the Senate to acquaint them of the King's Approach, who was within three Miles of the City; but coming according to his usual Custom, with his Guards, and knocking boldly at the Palace-gate, he was denied Entrance by one of the *Nerli*, (of whom there were several Brothers that I was well acquainted with, and their Father, all very wealthy People) who told him he might enter if he pleas'd alone, but otherwise not; and he that gave him this Answer was armed. Upon which, *Peter de Medicis* return'd to his House, put himself and his Domesticks in Arms, and sent Word of it to one *Paul Ursini*, who was in the *Florentine* Service; for by the Mother's side *Peter*  
de

A. D.

1494.



A. D. 1494. *The Dis-  
grace of  
Peter de  
Medicis.* *de Medicis* was a Kin to the *Ursini*, of which Family his Father and himself had always had several in their Service; resolving to stand upon his Guard, and oppose any Insurrection that might happen in the City: But not long after hearing a great Cry of *Liberty, Liberty*, and the People being assembled in Arms, he left the City, according to the prudent Advice that was given him by this *Ursini*; tho' it was a sad Parting for him, for in Power and Riches he and his Predecessors had been equal with the greatest Princes: and that Day Fortune began to be adverse, and he lost both Authority and Estate. I was at *Venice* my self, but the News of it was communicated to me by the *Florentine* Ambassador, who was there, and was extremely concern'd at it; for I had a great Respect for his Father. Had this *Peter* believ'd me formerly, he had not then been in that Condition; for upon my first Arrival at *Venice* I wrote to him, and offer'd to make his Peace with the King, and it was in my Power to have done it; for I had Commission from the Seneschal and *Brissonet* both to do it, and the King would have been contented barely with Passage for his Troops, or at the worst to have had *Legborne* put into his Hands, for which he would have done whatever *Peter* could have desired; but by the Persuasion and ill Counsel of *Peter Caponi*, whom I have mention'd before; did but laugh at me for the Offer I made him.

The next Morning the *Florentine* Ambassador deliver'd a Letter to the Senate of *Venice*, importing that *Peter de Medicis* was banish'd *Florence* for endeavouring to make himself Sovereign of that City, by the Assistance of the *Ursini*, and the House of *Arragon*; besides other Complaints against him, which were not true. But such are the Accidents and Successes in this World,

World; he who is beaten and flies, is not only sure to be pursued by his Enemies, but shall be forsaken; and perhaps persecuted by his Friends, as was too visible in the Behaviour of this Ambassador, *Anthony Solderini*, (one of the wisest Statesmen in all *Italy*). The Day before the Delivery of this Letter, he mentioned *Peter de Medicis* to me with the Respect due to his Sovereign Lord, now he declar'd himself his Enemy by order from the State; but to do him Justice, he said nothing, of himself that was to his Prejudice. The next Day I was inform'd that *Peter de Medicis* was coming to *Venice*, that the King had made his Triumphal Entry into *Florence*, and that the Senate had recall'd their Ambassador, telling him, *They were necessitated to sail by that Wind*, that was their Expression. I saw their Letter my self, for he shew'd it me upon his leaving *Venice*. Two Days after his Departure, *Peter de Medicis* arriv'd at *Venice*, in the Disguise of a Servant in a Livery. The *Venetians* were at a loss how to behave themselves towards him; they were afraid of disobliging the King, and yet they could not in reason refuse to give him Protection; however, they made him wait two Days before they would declare their Resolutions, desiring to know of me how my Master would take it: I had never receiv'd any Orders from the King to resent it, and being willing to serve him, I answer'd, *That I suppos'd this Flight was from the People, not from the King*. Upon which he was receiv'd, and the next Day after his Appearance before the Senate, I made him a Visit. The Senate order'd an handsome Apartment for him, permitted himself, and about twenty of his Retinue to wear their Swords, and shew'd him a great deal of Honour and Respect; for though his Grandfather *Cosmo* had formerly hinder'd them from making

A. D.

1494.

*The Fate of  
People in  
Adversity.*

*Peter de  
Medicis's  
Arrival at  
Venice.*

A. D. 1494. making themselves Masters of *Milan*, yet they had a Reverence for the Honour of his Family, which had been so renown'd all over *Europe*. When I came into his Presence, methought he seem'd not to answer my Expectation: He gave me a Narrative of his Misfortunes, and I gave him the best Consolation I could: Among the rest of his Complaints, he told me he had lost all; but that which made the deepest Impression on his Spirits, was, that having writ to a Factor of his in *Town*, to furnish him with Cloth for himself and his Brother, and only to the Value of a hundred Ducats, he had been refused; which was a strange thing, considering his Estate and Authority, which had continu'd in great Lustre in that Family for threescore Years together. Not long after, he heard good News from the Lord de *Bresse*, since Duke of *Savoy*, and the King wrote to him to come to him. However, the King left *Florence* about the same time, as you'll find hereafter; but I was forced to say something of this *Peter de Medicis* by the by.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the King's Entrance into Florence, and what other Towns he pass'd through in his March to Rome.*

The Palace of Peter de Medicis plunder'd by Charles VIII. and others.



THE next Day the King made his Entrance into *Florence*, where *Peter de Medicis* had prepar'd a noble Apartment for him in his own Palace, and appointed the Lord de (a) *Balassat* to attend

(a) *Ferron*, in his Supplement to *Paulus Emilius*, calls him *Matthæus Balassus*, which comes pretty near the Name; but others, who pretend to know the Family, call him de *Balnac*.

him



him; but as soon as his Majesty was inform'd of the Flight of *Peter de Medicis*, he fell a rifling the Palace, upon Pretence that the Bank of *Lions* was in Arrear to him for a considerable Sum of Money; and among other things he seiz'd upon a whole Unicorn's Horn, valu'd at six or seven thousand Ducats, besides two great Pieces of another, and several other things; and other People follow'd his Example. The best of his Furniture was convey'd into another House in the City; but the Mob plunder'd it. The Senate got part of his richest Jewels, twenty thousand Ducats in ready Money that he had in Bank in the City; several fine Aggate Cups, besides an incredible Number of Seals admirably well cut, which I have seen, and three thousand Medals of Gold and Silver, weighing near forty Pound Weight; which I believe was more than in all *Italy* besides: So that his Losses in the City that Day, might be computed at a hundred thousand Crowns, if not more: But the King being got into the City, a Treaty was set on Foot between him and the *Florentines*, and I am of opinion the Citizens embrac'd it very heartily. They gave the King sixscore thousand Ducats, paid him 50000 down, and the rest in two short Payments afterwards. They lent him all the above-mention'd Places, and chang'd their Arms, which were the *Red Flower-de-Luce*, and bore the King's, who took them into his Protection, and swore upon the Altar of St. *John* to restore the Towns which they had put into his Possession within four Months after his Arrival at *Naples*, or sooner, if he should return into *France*; but Matters succeeded otherwise, as you will find in the Sequel of these Memoirs.

The King made but a little Stay at *Florence*; but advanc'd with his Army to *Siena*, where being

A. D.

1494.

*A Treaty of Alliance between Charles VIII. and the Florentines.*

A.D. 1493. ing well receiv'd, he advanc'd to *Viterbo*, where the Enemy (Don *Ferrand* being retreated towards *Rome*) design'd to post and fortifie themselves, and fight if they saw an advantageous Opportunity, as King *Alphonso's* and the Pope's Ambassadors at *Venice* told me; and truly I expected the Arrival of King *Alphonso* in Person there, (for he had the Reputation of being a Man of Courage) and that he would have left his Son in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to have manag'd Affairs in his Absence. According to my Judgment the Place would not have been altogether improper for them; for he would have had his own Kingdom, and the Patrimony of the Church, and the Towns and Places belonging to the *Urfini* behind them. And I was extremely surpriz'd to hear by Letters, that the King was at *Viterbo*, (c) and that one of the *Commanders* had deliver'd up the Castle upon the Intercession of the Cardinal *Petri ad Vincula*, (who was Governor of it) and the *Colonna*. I fancied then that God would put an End to this Affair, and began to repent of my having advis'd and written to the King to come to an Accommodation; for they offer'd him very fair. *Aqua Pendente*, *Montefiascone*, and all the adjacent Towns were deliver'd up before the Surrender of *Viterbo*, as I was inform'd by Letters from the King and others to the Senate at *Venice*, who had daily Intelligence of what pass'd from their Ambassadors, which they shew'd me, or else order'd their Secretaries to

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(c) A *Commander* in this Place signifies a Person, who being in Possession of some Spiritual preferment must not marry; but yet is not oblig'd to take holy Orders upon him; as the *Grand Prior* of *France*, and all the *Knights* of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem*.

give me an account. From *Viterbo* the King marched towards *Rome*, through the Dominions of the *Ursini*, which were all surrender'd to him by the Lord *Charles Ursini*, pretending that he had Orders from his Father to do so, (who was always in King *Alphonso's* Service) and that whilst *Don Ferrand* was entertain'd in the Territories of the Church, so long was he commanded to wait on the King, and no longer. This was exactly according to the Custom in Italy, both among Princes and Captains, and all Persons; for there they carry fair with their very Enemies, for fear it should be their Misfortune to be of the weakest Side. The King therefore was receiv'd into *Bracciano*, the chief Place belonging to *Virgil Ursini*; it was strong, beautiful, and well furnish'd with Provisions: I have heard the King often commend the Place, and the Entertainment he met with there; for at that time his Army was in great Distress for want of Provision, and indeed they could hardly be in greater: So that if we do but consider how often this Army was inclinable to mutiny, and not to march any farther, since its first Arrival at *Vienn* in *Dauphinè*, and the many unexpected Accidents by which it was supplied and advanc'd, it must of necessity be acknowledg'd, that God Almighty conducted it.

A. D.

1494-

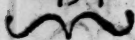
The Italians always favour the strongest Side.

## CHAP.



A. D.

1494.



## C H A P. X.

*Of the King's sending the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula (who was afterwards Pope by the Name of Julius II.) to Ostia: What the Pope did at Rome in the mean time: Of the King's Entry into Rome, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of his Enemies to the contrary; and of the Factions between the Ursini and the Colonna. in Rome,*



FROM Bracciano the King sent the Cardinal of Saint Peter ad Vincula to Ostia, of which he was Bishop. Ostia is a Town of great Importance, possess'd by the Colonna, who had taken it formerly from the Pope; but not long since it was recover'd from the Cardinal by the Forces of the Church. It is a Town of no great strength, and yet it kept Rome in Subjection a long time, by means of the said Cardinal; who was a great Friend to the Colonna, which Family embrac'd our Interest, at the Instigation of Cardinal Ascanio, the Duke of Milan's Brother, and in Opposition to the Ursini, with whom they have been always at Difference. The Faction of these two Houses has occasion'd as great Troubles to the Church as the Animosity betwixt the Luce and the Grandmonts have been to us, or the Hocus and Caballans to the Hollander; and were it not for this Dissention, the Territory of the Church was one of the best Habitations for the Subject in the World; for they pay no Taxes, their Duties are few, and they would be sure to be

*Great Dissentions  
between  
the Ursini  
and the  
Colonna.*

well

well govern'd; for the Popes are always wise, and have good Council about them. But because of these Emulations, it is subject to many Calamities, as Murders and Plundering, &c. of which sort we have seen frequent Examples within these last four Years, Since that time the *Colonna* have been our Enemies, much to their Dishonour; for the King had given them twenty thousand Ducats a Year, and better, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as in the County of *Tagliacozzo*, and other Places (which was before the Estate of the *Urfini*) besides whatever else they demanded, whether in Men or Money: So that what they did was done treacherously and unhandsonly without any manner of Provocation; but they had been always for the House of *Arragon* against the *French*, as being *Gibelines*, and the *Urfini* (being *Guelphs*) were always on our side with the *Florentines*.

A. D.

1494.

The King sent along with the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, to *Ostia*, *Peron de la Basche* the Steward of his Household, who three Days before had brought the King twenty thousand Ducats by Sea, which was part of the Money lent him by the Duke of *Milan*: This *Peron de la Basche* landed at *Piombino*, and left the Fleet (which was but small) under the Command of the Prince of *Salerno*, and the Barons of *Serno* in Province, but being taken suddenly with a Storm, their Ship was much shatter'd, and driven upon the Coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, where they lay a long time without doing us any Service till they could be repair'd, though they were at a vast Expence, and came not to us, till the King was in *Naples*.

There were with the Cardinal at *Ostia* about 500 Men at Arms, and two thousand *Swiss* under

A.D. 1494. under the Command of the (a) Count *de Ligny* the Kings Cousin-German, by the Mother's Side, the Lord *de Allegre*, and others. The Design was to have pass'd the *Tybur*, and inclos'd Don *Ferrand* in *Rome*, by the Favour and Assistance of the *Colonna*, of whom the chief were *Prospero*, and *Fabritio Colonna*, and the Cardinal *di Colonna*; who had 2000 Foot under his Command, to pay whom, the King remitted Money by *Peter de la Basche*, though they had rais'd and muster'd them at their own Pleasure, at *Sanfonna*, a Town belonging to them.

We must observe that several Affairs are co-incident in this Place, and of every one of them something must be said. Before the King had made his Enterance into *Viterbo*, he had sent the Lord *de la Trimouile*, his Chamberlain, the President of (b) *Guiennay*, who had the Seal, and Monsieur *Bidaut*, to *Rome*, to treat with his Holiness; who was never without some under-hand Practices, according to the Mode of the *Italians*. While they were at *Rome*, the Pope in the Night receiv'd Don *Ferrand* and his whole Army into the Town, so that some few of our People were seiz'd, but dismiss'd the same Day by the Pope; only the Cardinal *Ascanio*, Vice-Chancellor and Brother to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Prospero di Colonna* were detain'd; (some say by their own Consent.) I had News of all this immediately, by Letters from the King; and the

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(a) *Lewis de Luxembourg*, Count *de Ligny*, Son of *Lewis* Constable of *France*; by his second Wife, *Mary* of *Savoy*, Sister to *Charlotte* of *Savoy*, Queen of *France*, and Mother of *Charles VIII*.

(b) *John de Gannay*, Lord of *Persan*, first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and Chancellor of *France* under *Lewis XII*. He had formerly been Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He died in the Year 1512.



Senate of *Venice* had a more ample Account of it from their Agents, and it happen'd before the King got into *Viterbo*, for neither side staid above two Days in a Place, and all things succeeded better for our Interest than we could have expected or hop'd, and no wonder, for God's Providence appear'd so visibly in our Assistance, that to body could deny it.

A. D.

1494.

The badness of the Weather had render'd this Army in *Ostia*, utterly unserviceable. You must understand that the Forces under the Command of the Lord d' *Aubigny* were marched back, and he himself had no farther Employment there. The *Italians* were likewise dismiss'd, which had been rais'd in *Romania*, and brought to the Army by Count *Rodolphus de Mantua*, the Lord *Galeot de la Mirandola* and *Fracasse*, Brother to *Galeas di St. Severino*, who were well paid by the King, and were in all about 500 Men. At his Departure from *Viterbo*, the King advanc'd to (c) *Naples*, of which the Cardinal *Ascanio* was then Governour, It is most certain, whilst our Forces were in *Ostia*, twenty Fathoms of the Wall fell down at *Rome*, on that side where we design'd to enter. The Pope observing this young Prince to advance so briskly, and with such unexpected Success, consented to receive him into *Rome*, (and to speak Truth he could not help it) upon condition he would give safe Conduct under his Hand and Seal to Don *Ferrand* Duke of *Calabria*, and only Son to *Alphonso*; but *Ferrand* march'd away in the Night

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(c) Several Historians name this Place *Naples*, tho' by the Description of *Italy* it ought to be *Nepe*; in *Blondus* 'tis *Nepesum*; in *Volaterran*, *Nepet*; and in *Marco Guazzo*, *Nepi*.

A. D.  
1494.  
The triumphal Entry of  
Charles  
VIII. into  
Rome.

towards *Naples*, and the Cardinal (d) *Ascanio* conducted him to the very Gate. The King entred *Rome* in Arms, as a Prince who at that time might do what he pleas'd where-ever he came. There came out to meet him several Cardinals, and the Governours and Senators of the Town, who attended him to his Lodgings in the Palace of *St. Mark*, (which belong'd to the *Colonna* who were then his Creatures and Friends) and the Pope himself retir'd to his Castle of *St. Angelo*.

## CHAP. XI.

Of King *Alphonso's* causing his Son *Ferrand* to be crown'd King; his Flight into *Sicily*, and of the *Michiet* his Father (old *Ferrand*) and he had done in their Reigns.



COULD any Man have imagin'd that so imperious a Prince as *Alphonso*, inured all his Life-time to Wars; that his Son and the *Urfini* having so great a Party in *Rome*, should have been afraid to have made a Stand there? Especially when they perceiv'd the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* wavering, and an Alliance on foot underhand, which would certainly have been concluded, had any Resistance been made either at *Viterbo* or *Rome*, that might have stopp'd the Progress of the King's Arms, though but for three

(d) *Ascani Maria Sforza*, Brother of *Lewis* Duke of *Milan* created Cardinal in 1484. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* degraded of that Dignity, and afterwards restor'd to it by Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1495. He died of the Plague or Poison in 1505.

or four Days : But God was willing to demonstrate to the World, that all these things were beyond the Contrivance and Comprehension of human Wisdom. We said before, that above twenty Fathoms of the City-Wall fell down ; so now there fell down above fifteen of the Wall of the Castle of St. *Angelo*, as I have been told by several Persons ; and particularly by two Cardinals who were there. But now we must say something of King *Alphonso*.

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*The unexpected and wonderful Success of the Expedition into Italy, undertaken by Charles VIII.*

As soon as the Duke of *Calabria*, call'd the young *Ferrand*, (whom we have already often mention'd) was return'd to *Naples* ; his Father, King *Alphonso*, thought himself not worthy of the Crown any longer, for the Mischiefs and Cruelties he had committed against several Princes and Lords who had trusted to his and his Father's Honour, causing them to be put to Death (to the number of four and twenty) after the Decease of his Father, who had kept them alive some time after their Wars against him. Two more he also caus'd to be executed, who had surrender'd upon his Father's Security ; one was the (a) Duke of *Sessa*, a Person of great Authority ; and the other was the Prince of *Rossano*, who had married *Ferrand*'s Sister, and had by her a Son of very great Parts and Understanding. To make sure of him (for the Prince and Lord of *Rossano* was engag'd against him in a most abominable Treason, and had deserv'd the worst Punishment that could have been inflicted ; had he not surreder'd himself upon Assurance of a Pardon.) As soon as he had done it, the King order'd him to be closely confin'd in a nasty stink-

(a) *Jovianus Pontanus*, who wrote a History of the Wars of *John* of *Anjou*, and *Ferrand* the elder, makes the Prince of *Rossano* and the Duke of *Sessa* to be one and the same Person.



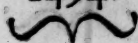
A. D. 1494. ing Prison, where he continued for the Space of four and thirty Years, and whither he sent his Son, when he was about fifteen or sixteen Years old, to bear him Company. *Alphonso*, immediately upon his Accession to the Throne, order'd all the Prisoners to be remov'd to a small Island not far from *Naples*, call'd *Ischia* (of whom you shall hear further hereafter) and put all of them to Death after a most barbarous and inhuman Manner, except *Rosano's* Son, and the Noble Count *di Popoli*, whom he still kept Prisoners in the Castle of *Naples*. I enquir'd very carefully how they were murder'd, (because many People believ'd them alive when the King enter'd into *Naples*) but I was assur'd by their principal Servants, that they were knocked on the Head by a Moor of *Africa*, who immediately after the Execution was dispatch'd into *Barbary*, that no Notice might be taken of it. I was inform'd he did not excuse those Ancient Princes, some of which had been kept in Prison four or five and thirty Years. Never was any Prince more bloody, wicked, inhuman, lascivious, or luxurious than he. Yet his Father was more dangerous, because no Man knew when he was angry or pleas'd; for he would betray People in the midst of his Entertainments and Caresses, no body knew why or wherefore, as he serv'd Count *James*, whom he caus'd on a sudden to be apprehended, and put to Death, though he was in the Quality of an Ambassadore at his Court from *Francis* Duke of *Milan*, whose natural Daughter he had married: But to that barbarous Action *Francis* was consenting, for they were both afraid of his Interest with the (e) *Bracci*, and being Son to *Nicolo Piccinino*. In the same Manner

(e) They were Soldiers, that took their Name from one *Brachivo di Fortibraci*, a famous Captain in his Time.

(as Report goes) he serv'd several others, for this *Ferrand* had nothing of Tendernefs or Compassion in him, as I have been inform'd by his nearest Friends and Relations, nor ever was known to take the least Pity of his own necessitous Subjects in Relation to their Taxes. The whole Trade of Bying and Selling he engross'd himself, and that quite through his Kingdom. He deliver'd Hogs to his People to feed, and requir'd them to make them fat; and if any of them chanc'd to die, they were sure to pay for them. In *Apuglia* and other Countries which were plentiful in Olives, he and his Son bought them all up, and almost at their own Pleasure; the same they did with their Corn, at a cheap Rate before it was ripe, and then sold it again as dear as they could; but if the Price of any of their Commodities happen'd to fall in the mean time, they oblig'd the People to take it off their Hands at the same Price they bought it; and whilst they were dispos'd to sell, no body durst buy of any one else. If a Baron, or the Lord of any Country, was a good Husband, and sav'd any thing out of his Revenue, by Management and Industry; they sent presently to borrow it, and they were forc'd to comply with their unreasonable Demands. They took away their Breed of Horses, (in which in those Parts People are very curious) and caus'd them to be manag'd and dress'd for them and their Use, by the Owners themselves; so that they had in Horses, Mares and Colts, many Millions. which they sent up and down the Kingdom to be kept for them, to the great detriment of the Masters. Both Father and Son had ravish'd several Women: They made no Conscience of Sacrilege, nor retain'd the least Respect or Obedience for the Church. They sold

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their Bishopricks, as that of *Tarento*, which the Father sold for thirteen thousand Ducats to a Jew to give his Son, whom the Jew pretended was a Christian. He gave Abbies to his *Faulconers*, and several others for their Children, telling them, *You shall keep me so many Hawks, you shall mew them, and keep me such a Number of Soldiers at your own Expence.* The Son never kept Lent in his Life, nor so much as preteended to do it: He never was at Confession, nor ever receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In short, it is scarce possible that any Prince could be guilty of greater Villanies. Some will have the young *Ferrand* to be the worst of the two; tho' at his Death he grew humble and civil, but then indeed he was in Distress.

The Author's Apology for writing so freely of these two Princes.

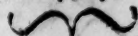
Perhaps the Reader may think, that what I have written of these two Princes, proceeds from some particular Pique against them; but upon my Conscience that is not the Motive that induced me to do it; for I have given you a short History of their Lives, only to continue my *Memoirs*, in the Beginning of which I freely declar'd my Opinion, that I thought it impossible for those, who had the Management of our Affairs, to have carried on this Expedition so prosperously, had not God himself undertaken to conduct it for this young King; and whom he supplied with Provisions in the Extremity of his Wants, and made him his Instrument to scourge and chastise these *Italians* Princes, who were Wise, Rich, Powerful, and Understanding in the Affairs of the World; had a wise and able Ministry, to defend and take care of their Dominions, and supported and engag'd in a powerful Alliance; and tho' they beheld the Storm afar off, yet had not Courage or Wisdom enough at that

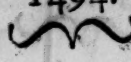


that time either to resist or avoid it : For except the Castle of *Naples*, there was not one Place in the Progress of the King's Arms for a Day : Which occasion'd Pope *Alexander VI*, to say, that the French came into *Naples* with Wooden Spurs, and only Chalk in their Harbingers Hands to mark out their Lodgings, which they took up without any more trouble : The Wooden Spurs he mention'd, because it was the Custom at that time, when young Gentlemen rode about the Streets, for their Pages to put a sharp Piece of Wood into the Heel of their Shoes, with which they Prick'd their Mules forward. In short, this Expedition into *Italy* was perform'd with so much Ease, and so little Resistance, that our Soldiers scarce ever put on their Arms during the whole Expedition, and the King march'd with his Army from *Asti* to *Naples* in four Months and nineteen Days ; an Ambassador with his Retinue could hardly well have got thither sooner. I concluded therefore with several pious and Religious Men, and the general Vote of the People (which is the Voice of God) that God intended to make an Example of these Princes, that by this Chastisement others might be excited to conform their Lives according to the Precepts of his Holy Gospel : For these Princes of *Arragon* lost their Honour, their Kingdom, and their Treasure, besides their rich Furniture of all sorts, which was so strangely dispers'd it is hardly to be known what is become of it, or that they ever had any ; and after all their Tyranny and Cruelties, they died themselves, three in one Year, or a little more ; but I hope their Souls are in Paradise. King *Ferrand*, natural Son to *Alphonso* the Great (who was a wise and an Honourable Prince) was highly concern'd to see his Kingdoms invaded with such a powerful

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A.D. 1494.  Army, and himself not in a condition to oppose it. He was also sensible of the notorious Lives that he and his Son had led, and of their being become odious to the People. And besides, in the pulling down of a Chappel (as I have been assur'd by several of his nearest Relations) there was a Book found with this Title, *Truth, with its secret Counsel*; in which (by Report) was contain'd the whole Series of his Misfortunes; but there were only three Persons who had a Sight of it, for as soon as he had read it, he committed it to the Flames. Another thing that troubled him was, that neither his Son nor Grandson could be perswaded of the King's coming into *Italy*; but they talk'd arrogantly and contemptuously of him, hectoring and threatening that they would go as far as the Mountains to meet him: But some were so wise as to make it their solemn Petition to God Almighty, *That a King of France might never come into Italy*; for they had seen a poor indigent Prince of the Family of *Anjou*, who had troubled all *Italy* before it could be rid of him, meaning Duke *John*, King *Rene's* Son. *Ferrand* labour'd hard the Year before by his Ambassador *Camillo Pandone* to stop the King's Expedition into *Italy*, before he left *France*; offering him a Tribute of five thousand Ducats a Year, and to do him Homage for that Kingdom: But finding he could neither purchase his Peace with the King of *France*, nor compose the Differences of *Milan*, he fell sick, confess'd, and dy'd, and I hope repented of his Sins. His Son *Alphonso*, who was so cruel and terrible, and in such Reputation for his Experience in Military Affairs, before the King of *France's* Departure from *Rome*, renounc'd the Crown, and was seiz'd with such a pannick Fear, that in the Night he would cry out

The Death  
of Fer-  
rand or  
Ferdi-  
nand I.  
King of  
Naples.

out he heard the *French*, and the *Stones* and the *Trees* sounded, *France, France*; nor durst he ever stir out of *Naples*, but upon his Son's Return from *Rome*, he resign'd the Government of that Kingdom to him, caus'd him to be crown'd, and rode on Horseback through the Streets of *Naples*, attended by the chief Persons of the City, as his Brother *Don Frederick*, the Cardinal of *Genoa* (the new King riding betwixt them) and all the foreign Ambassadors that were there; and after all this Pomp and Solemnity was perform'd, *Alphonso* himself fled, into *Sicily*, and took with him the Queen his Mother-in-law, Sister to *Ferrand* King of *Castile*, who is now reigning, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, to a Place where she had a strong Garrison. This was look'd upon as a very surprizing Turn of Affairs, all over *Europe*, but especially at *Venice*, where I was then in Quality of the King's Ambassador: Some said he was retir'd to the *Turkish* Court, others that his Resignation was only in favour of his Son, who was less odious to the People; but I was always of opinion, it proceeded from nothing but Cowardise; for never any Person that was cruel was couragious, *All Ty-* as all Histories inform us; for so *Nero* and seve-*rants are* ral other Tyrants, when press'd by their Sub-*Cowards.* jects, fled from the Administeration of their Affairs, and perish'd in Dispair. In short, *Alphonso* was in so great a Consternation, that (as I was inform'd by some who were about him) he told his Mother-in-law, the very Day of their Departure, that if she would not go, he would leave her; and when she entreated him to put off his Departure but for three Days longer, that it might be said she had been a whole Year in his Kingdom; he reply'd, that rather than not go then, he would throw himself out of



A. D. 1494. of the Window : For do not you hear (saith he) how every Body cries out, *France, France ?* Upon which they immediately went on board a Vessel he had prepar'd on purpose. He took along with him all sorts of Wines (which he lov'd above all things) and Seeds for his Gardens, without taking any care of his Estate, or rich Furniture, which was left at random in the Castle of *Naples* ; some Jewels and a little Money he carried with him besides, and away they sail'd for *Sicily* to the Garrison above-mention'd, and from thence to *Messina*, where he pick'd up and carried along with him certaia Monks, to whom he pretended and swore he would have no further Conversation with the World. Among the rest, he took particular Fancy to the Monks of *Mount Olivet*, whose Habit is white (as they told me at *Venice*, where the Body of *St. Helen* is deposited in their Cloister) and with them he liv'd a strict and austere Life, serving God at all Hours both of the Day and Night, as they did in their Convents, spending his Time in Prayers, Abstinence, and Alms ; by which Austerity and severe way of living he contracted a sad distemper of Excoriation and Gravel : They told me they never saw any Man in greater Misery, and yet he endured it with abundance of Patience, having resolved to spend the Remainder of his Days in a Monastery at *Valentia Major*, and to have taken upon him the Habit ; but he was surpris'd with a violent Fit, and died in a short time after. If we may judge from the greatness of his Penitence, we may conclude his Soul is in Paradise. His Son out-lived him not long, for he died of a Feaver and a Flux, and I hope they are better where they are. To conclude, in less than two Years time, there were five Kings crown'd in *Naples*, three I have mention'd

The Flight  
of Al-  
phonso  
King of  
Naples.

tion'd before, *Charles VIII. of France*, and (a) *Don Frederick, Alphonso's Brother*, who now reigns.

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CHAP. XII.

*Of Ferrand the Younger's being crown'd King of Naples; his encamping with his Forces at St. Germain, in order to oppose King Charles; and of the Agreement King Charles made with the Pope during his Stay at Rome.*



NOW for the better understanding of all these Affairs, you must know that King *Ferrand*, after his Coronation was over, became a new Man supposing all the Odium and Resentment of past Injuries were buried in Oblivion, upon his Father's abdicating the Throne. He assembl'd all the Forces he could raise both of Horse and Foot, and march'd with 'em to *St. Germain*, which is a strong Place (tho' the *French* had pass'd it twice) upon the Frontiers of that Kingdom. Having encamp'd there, and put a strong Garrison, with all manner of Provisions, into the Town, his Friends began to take heart. The Town is defended two Ways a small (b) River that is fordable sometimes, and by a great Mountain which seems to hang over it.

The King in the mean time was at *Rome*, and continued there twenty Days, during which time several Affairs of Importancce were transacted: There were with him about eighteen

(a) He was crown'd King of *Naples* in 1495. He reign'd but six or seven Years, before he was dethron'd; after which he retir'd into *France*, where he died.

(b) The *Liris* or *Garigliano*.

A. D. 1494. Cardinals, and others from several Parts ; among whom there were Signior *Ascanio* Vice-Chancellor and Brother to the Duke of *Milan*

and *Peter ad Vincula*, (great Friends to one another, but mortal Enemies to the Pope) the Cardinals (*a*) *de Gurçe*, (*b*) *St. Dennis*, (*c*) *St. Severino*, (*d*) *Savelly*, (*e*) *Colonna*, and others ; all of them earnest for a new Election, and that the Pope might be depos'd, who was then in his Castle. Twice our Great Guns were ready to fire, (as I have been told by several Persons of Quality) but both times the King oppos'd it. The Place is not defensible, being built upon a small Hill, and that forced and artificial. It was alledg'd that the Walls were fallen down by Prodigy, and they charg'd his Holiness with having given Money for the Papacy ; but *Ascanio* was the principal Merchant, for it was he that drove

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(*a*) *Raimund Perauld*, a Native of *Surgeres* in *Xaintonge*, Bishop of *Xaintes*, afterwards of *Gurçe* in *Germany*, created Cardinal by Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1493. He died in 1505. and was interr'd at *Viterbo* in the *Augustin's* Church.

(*b*) *John de la Grolaye*, or *de Villiers*, a Monk and Abbot of *St. Dennis* in *France*, afterwards Bishop of *Lombes* ; created a Cardinal in 1493. by Pope *Alexander VI.* He died in 1499. and was buried at *Rome* in the French Chapel of *St. Peter's* Church of the *Vatican*.

(*c*) *Frederick di St. Severino*, Son of *Robert* Count *di Cajazzo* and *Jean di Corregio*, promoted to the Cardinalship by Pope *Innocent VIII.* in 1489. and confirm'd in it by the College of Cardinals after that Pope's Death, in 1492. He died in 1516.

(*d*) *John Baptista Sebelli*, an *Italian*, made a Cardinal in 1480. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* He died in 1498- in the eightieth Year of his Age.

(*e*) *John Colonna*, an *Italian*, Son of *Anthony* Prince of *Salerno*, and Nephew to Cardinal *Prospero Colonna*. He was made a Cardinal in 1480. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* and died in 1508.

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the Bargain, and receiv'd most of the Money, besides the House in which the Pope lived when he was Vice-chancellor, all the rich Furniture, his Vice-chancellorship, and several other Places of St. Peter's Patrimony besides; for they two were Competitors for the Popedom. However, I am of opinion they would both have consented to a new Election at the King's Pleasure, tho' it had been of a *French-man*. I will not pretend to say whether he acted well or ill, but I think the King's best way was to compose Matters amicably, as he did; for he was a young Man, and incapable of performing so important a Work as the Reformation of the Church, tho' perhaps his Strength might have been sufficient. Could he have undertaken and gone through with it, I question not but all Men of Wisdom and Reason would have acknowledg'd it to have been a good Work; but there were several things wanting: However, the King's Intentions were good, and are so still, if he were vigorously assisted.

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The King came to such an Accomodation with the Pope, as could not possibly last long; for it was too violent in some Points, and gave great Umbrage to the making an Alliance, of which we shall speak more hereafter. By this Agreement there was to be a Peace between the Pope, his Cardinals, and all their Adherents; and the said Cardinals were to receive all the Rights and Perquisites belonging to their Dignities, as well absent as present: And that the Pope should deliver four Towns to the King, *Terracina*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Viterbo*, (which was in his Hands already) and *Spoletto*; but this last he never deliver'd, notwithstanding his Promise. All these Towns were to be restor'd to the Pope upon the King's Return out of *Naples*, which

A. D. 1494. which was perform'd on the King's part tho' the Pope had not dealt fair with him. By this Agreement he also deliver'd the *Grand Seignior's* (a) Brother, to the King ; for whom he receiv'd constantly every Year of the great *Turk* 60000 Ducats, lest he should attempt another Rebellion against him. He promis'd not to put a Legate into any Place under the Jurisdiction of the Church, without the King's Approbation. There were other Articles relating to the Confistory, for which and the rest the Cardinal of *Valentia* was given in Hostage, who attended the King instead of a Legate. The King on his part did his filial Obedience with all imaginable Humility, and the Pope created two Cardinals at his Request ; one was Monsieur *Brissonet*, before made Bishop of *St. Malo* : the other was the (b) Bishop of *Mons*, of the House of *Luxembourg*, and then Resident in *France*.

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(a) *Sultan Zemi*, Brother to *Bajazet II.* who having rais'd a Rebellion against his Brother, fled to the Soldan of *Egypt* for Assistance ; but being defeated in a set Battle, he fled to *Rhodes*, from whence he was sent into *France* to *Lewis XI.* in order to hinder him from making his Escape ; and to encourage the Knights of *Rhodes* to have a watchful Eye over him, the *Grand Signior* allow'd 'em four hundred thousand Crowns a Year. *Lewis XI.* gave him to Pope *Innocent VIII.* in whose Hands he remain'd till the delivering him back again by *Charles VIII.* to the Pope himself.

(b) *Philip de Luxembourg*, created Cardinal in 1495. He was the Son of *Thibaut* Lord of *Fiennes* and *Gavre*, who having buried his Wife *Philippa de Mulun*, turn'd Monk of the Order of *White Friars*, in the Abby of *Igny* in the Diocess of *Rheims*, of which he was afterwards Abbot, and then Bishop of *Mans*. He was nominated to be a Cardinal by Pope *Sixtus IV.* to whom he was sent in an Embassy by *Lewis XI.* in 1472.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the King's Departure from Rome to Naples; of the Transactions in that Kingdom in the mean time; an Account of what Places the King of France pass'd through in his March.



MATTERS being adjusted after this manner, the King left Rome seemingly in great Friendship with the Pope; but eight Cardinals left the Town in a Huff, of which six were of (c) the Vice-chancellor's Party and the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula's*; tho' it was suppos'd but a Copy of *Africanio's* Countenance, and that at the Bottom he was agreed with the Pope; but his Brother had not then declar'd himself our Enemy. The King march'd with his Army to *Sansonna*, and from thence to *Velitri*, where the Cardinal of *Valenza* gave him the slip.

The next Morning the King took *Montefortini* by Storm, and put the Garrison to the Sword. The Place belong'd to *James Visconti*, who had enter'd into the King's Service, and afterwards deserted him; for the *Visconti* are of the Faction of the *Ursini*. From thence the King march'd to *Valmonton*, which belong'd to the *Colonna*, and thence advanc'd to a strong Place within 4 Miles from *Mount St. John*, batter'd it 7 or 8 Hours with his heavy Cannon, and then took it by Storm, and put all the Garrison to the Sword: It was Church-land, and belong'd to the Marquis d;

Several Castles taken by Charles VIII. in his March to Naples.

(c) He was afterwards made Pope by the Name of *Julius II.* in 1503. and died in 1513.



A.D. *Pescara*; and there our whole Amy join'd.  
 1494. From thence the King march'd about sixteen  
 Miles to *St. Germain*, where the new King *Ferrand* was encamp'd, as I said before, with all the Force he was able to assemble. There was now no Remedy; this was the Place for him to fight in, or no where; for it was the Enterance into his Kingdom, and he was advantageously posted, both in respect of the River and the Mountain. He had also sent a strong Detachment to secure the Pass at *Cancello*, which is among the Mountains about six Miles from *St. Germain*: But before the King's Approach, *Ferrand* retir'd with great Precipitation, and abandon'd both the Town and the Pass. Monsieur *de Guise* commanded the Van that Day, for the (c) Lord *de Rieux* was order'd to take the Pass at *Cancello*, which the *Arragonians* ought to have defended; but they had abandon'd their Post before he arriv'd there, so that the King enter'd *St. Germain* without any Resistance. King *Ferrand* retreated to *Capua*, where they receiv'd him, and some few of his Retinue; but refus'd to admit his whole Army. He made no long stay among 'em at that time, but only entreated them to continue faithful to him, promising to return the next Day; and away he posted to *Naples*, suspecting the Defection which afterward happen'd there. The greatest part of his Army he left behind, and commanded them to attend him at *Capua*; but when he came back the next Day, they were all fled. *Virgil Urfini* and his Cousin the Count *de Pettilane* fled to *Nola*, where they and their Party were taken by our Men. They affirm'd that they had a Pass, and that we did them wrong, and 'tis true enough; but their

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(c) *John Lord of Rieux, Marshal of Bretagne.*

Passport was not come to their hands: However, they paid nothing for their Ransom, only they were plunder'd; and to speak the truth, their Loss was very considerable. A. D. 1494.

From *St. Germain* the King march'd to *Mignano* and *Tiano*, and encamp'd at *Caluy* two Leagues from *Capua*, where the Inhabitants of that City came to treat with him, and the King enter'd it, with his whole Army. From *Capua* he march'd the next Day to *Aversa*, in the mid Way between *Capua* and *Naples*, about six Miles distant from both. The chief of the *Neapolitans* waited on his Majesty there, and they came to an Accommodation; by which their ancient Liberties and Privileges were secur'd to 'em. The King sent thither before him the Marshal *de Giè*, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the President *Gannay* (who kept the Seals) and his Secretaries. King *Ferrand* finding how Matters went, and seeing the People and Nobility in Arms against him, and his Stables plunder'd before his Face, got immediately aboard a Gally, and made the best of his way for *Ischia* (which is a small Island about 18 Miles from *Naples*) The King of France was receiv'd into the (a) City with all possible Solemnity Acclamations of Joy; all the People came out to meet him, and those who had been oblig'd to the House of *Arragon* came first; as particularly the Family of the *Caraffi*, who held at that time of the House of *Arragon*, above 400000 Ducats a Year in Lands and Employments: For the Kings in that Country can dispose of their own Demesnes as well as other

King Ferrand's Flight from Naples.

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(a) This triumphal Entry of *Charles VIII.* into *Naples* in the Year 1495. is to be seen at large in the first Volume of the *French Ceremonial*, pag. 982.

A. D. 1494. People's; and I am of opinion there are not three considerable Estates in the whole Kingdom, but they consist either of Crown-Lands, or other Mens.

The Affection of the Neopolitans towards the French.

Never People express'd so great a Zeal and Affection to any King or Nation, as they did to ours, supposing themselves deliver'd from all Tyranny; so that every where they willingly submitted to us. The whole Country of *Calabria*, yielded; and the Lord *d'Aubiny* and *Peron de Basche* were sent to command them without any Forces of their own, *Abruzzo* revolted of its own accord, and the Town of *Aquila* (which was always in the *French* Interest) set 'em an Example. In *Apuglia* they did the same, all but the Castle of *Brindisi*, (which is strong and well mann'd) and the Town of *Gallipoli*, which had also a strong Garrison in it, or else the Inhabitants would have revolted. In *Calabria* there were three Places which held out for King *Ferrand*, two of them were *Mantia* and *Tropea*, anciently Creatures of the House of *Anjou*, and had a first set up the Arms of *France*; but because he had given them to Monsieur *de Perfi*, and would not make them of his own Demesnes, they pull'd down his Arms, and erected the Banners of *Aragon*. The third Place was the Castle of *Rhegio*, which continu'd firm to the House of *Aragon*; but all that stood out did so for want of being summon'd; for there were not a sufficient Body of Troops sent into *Apuglia* and *Calabria* to have kept one Castle for the King. *Taranto* surrender'd both Castle and Town, and so did *Otranto*, *Monopoli*, *Trani*, *Manfredonia*, *Barletta*, all but what I excepted before. They came three Days Journey to meet our Army, and begg'd of them to receive their respective Cities into our Protection. They sent likewise all of them



them to *Naples*, and all the Princes and great Lords of that Kingdom came thither to do Homage to our King, except the Marquis *di Pescara*; but his Brothers and Nephews came. The Count *d'Acri* and the Marquis *di Squillazzo* fled into *Sicily*, because our King, had given their Estates to the Lord *d'Aubigny*. There was lately arriv'd at *Naples* the Prince of *Salerno* newly come from Sea; but he had done nothing considerable. His Cousin the Prince of *Basignano* was there also with his Brothers, and the Dukes of *Melfi* and *Graveline*, and the old Duke of *Sora*, who heretofore had sold his Dutchy to the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, and his Brother enjoys it at this Day. The Counts *di Monterio*, *di Fondi*, *di Tripaldi*, and the Count *di Celano* (who had been banish'd a long time, and was return'd with the King) came also to *Naples*. The Count *de Troye*, a young Scotch Gentleman, but educated in *France*, was there also, and the Count *di Popoli*, whom we found Prisoner in *Naples*. The young Prince of *Rossano* (who as we said before was Prisoner with his Father, who had been confin'd thirty four Years) was releas'd, and accompanied King *Ferrand* to *Ischia*; but whether voluntarily or by Compulsion I cannot resolve. There came also to *Naples* the Marquis *di Venafro*, all the *Caldoresques*, the Count *di Matalon*, and the Count *di Merillano*, (they and their Predecessors having always govern'd the House of *Arragon*;) and in short, all the Nobility of that Kingdom, but the three Persons which I excepted before.

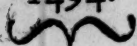
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## C H A P. XIV.

*King Charles's being crown'd King of Naples; the Error's in his Government of that Kingdom; and of the Discovery of a Design in his Favour against the Turks, by the Venetians.*



ING Ferrand, when he fled from Naples, left the Marquis *di Pescara*, and some Germans, in the (a) Castle; and sail'd himself into Sicily to demand Succours of his Father, Don Frederick still kept at Sea with some Gallies, and came twice (with a Pass-port) to treat with our King. His Demands were, that some part of that Kingdom might remain to his Nephew, with the Title of King; and that he himself might enjoy all the Lands which belong'd to him and his Wife. His Request was not unreasonable; for his own Estate was but small: The King offer'd to give both him and his Nephew an Equivalent in France; and I am of opinion his Majesty would have given them some considerable Dutchy, but they did not think fit to accept it: Besides, there was no trusting them in the Kingdom of Naples; for they would have observ'd no Articles of Agreement any longer than it had been for their Advantage. We erected our Battiers against the Castle of Naples, and began to fire upon it. The Marquis *di Pescara* was gone out of it, so there were only a few Germans in it. Had we sent but four of our Great Guns into the Island, we had certainly carried it; and from thence our Misfortunes re-

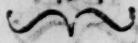
*The Errors committed by the French in the Conquest of Naples.*

(a) He means *Castle Nuovo*; for there are four in Naples turn'd.

turn'd. Then all the rest of the Towns (which were not above four or five) would have follow'd of course; but we spent our Time in Gaiety, Entertainments, Dancing, and Tournaments, and, and grew so insolent and vain, we scarce look'd upon the *Italians* to be rational Creatures. Our King was crown'd, had his Lodgings in the Castle of *Capoana*, and sometimes went to *Mont-Imperial*: To the Subjects of that Kingdom he did many good Acts, and abated their Taxes; so that I believe of themselves the People would never have rebell'd (tho' they are naturally inconstant) had we but oblig'd some few of the Nobility; but they were slighted, and treated uncivilly at their very Entrance into the Gates. Those of the House of *Caraffi* (tho' Friends to the House of *Arragon*) were us'd the best; yet they escap'd not quite without Loss, for every one was depriv'd of his Offices and Estate; and the Partizans of the House of *Anjou* far'd a great deal worse than the Creatures of *Arragon*. Orders were sent into the County of *Merillino*, and the President *Gannay*, and the Seneschal (lately made Duke of *Nola*, and Grand Chamberlain of that Kingdom) were suspected to have taken Money for it: By those Orders every one was to be confirm'd in his Possession, only the Partizans of the House of *Anjou* were to be excluded, unless they could make good their Titles by Law; and for such as had enter'd of their own accord (as the Count *di Celano*) they were to be ejected by Force. All the Estate and Offices were conferr'd upon two or three *French-men*, and all the Stores of Provision in the Castle of *Naples* (which were found to be very considerable, upon the taking it) were given to any Man that ask'd, with the King's Knowledg and Consent.



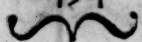
A.D. 1494. During these Transactions, the *Germans* capitulated, and deliver'd up the Castle; keeping all the Goods that were in it (to a vast Value) to themselves. Another Castle called *Castel del Ovo* was taken by Storm; by which it may be perceiv'd, that what was done was not so much by the Conduct or Dexterity of the Agents, as by the Providence of God; but the great Faults that were committed, were the Works of Man puff'd up by Vain-glory, and unwilling to acknowledge from whence their Success and Honour proceeded; and their Misfortune, the pure Product of their own depraved Nature and Experience: So that their Fortune chang'd as suddenly and visibly as the Day rises in *Norway* or *Island*, where the Days in Summer are longer than in other Parts; and one Day is scarce shut in, but within a Quarter of an Hour after the next begins to draw. In the same manner a wise Man might have observ'd the Face of their good Fortune alter, and that Enterprize miscarry, (which if it had been ascrib'd to the true Manager of it) would have contributed mightily to the Honour and Advantage of all Christendom; for the *Turkish* Empire had been as easily shaken as *Alphonso's* Kingdom; that Emperor being still alive, who was a Man of no Reputation nor Courage, and his Brother in our King's hands (tho' he liv'd but few Days after the Cardinal of *Valenza* made his Escape, and was suppos'd to have been poison'd) and the Sultan dreaded him above all the Persons in the World; besides, in the very Heart of his Empire, there were Millions of Christians ready to take up Arms; and from *Otranto* to *Apollonia* was not above sixty Miles, and from *Apollonia* to *Constantinople* about eighteen Days Journey, as I have been inform'd by those that have often



often travell'd between those Places, and in all the way not above two or three strong Towns, the rest having been dismantled. The Countries that lie between are *Albania*, *Sclavonia*, and *Greece*, all of 'em very populous, and acquainted with the Fame and Character of our King by their Correspondents in *Venice* and *Apuglia*, to whom they wrote constantly, and expected nothing but their Directions to rebel. The King sent thither to them the Arch-Bishop of *Durazzo*, who was an *Albanian* born, and discoursing with Multitudes of the Children and Grand children of several Great Lords (as of *Scanderbeg*, one Son of the old Emperor of *Constantinople*, several of the Nephews of the Lord *Constantine*, at present Goverour of *Montferrat*, and Nephews or Cousins to the King of *Servia*) he found them all inclinable to revolt. In *Theffaly* above five thousand Men would have appear'd, and *Scutari* would have been surpriz'd, which I understood by my Intelligence, and from the Mouth of the Lord *Constantine*, who lay conceal'd several Days in my House at *Venice*, and certainly he had reason; for *Macedonia* and *Theffaly*, which formerly belong'd to *Alexander* the Great, were his Inheritance. *Apollonia* is situated in them; *Scutari* and *Croia* are not far off: In his time his Father or Uncle mortgag'd them to the *Venetians*, who lost *Croia*, *Scutari* was surrender'd to the *Turk* upon Articles of Peace. The said Lord *Constantine* was at that time within three Leagues; and the Enterprize had been begun, had not the Arch-Bishop of *Durazzo* staid at *Venice* some time after *Constantine's* Departure. I press'd him hard to depart, for I thought him a Person that could not keep a Secret long; and he went up and down boasting, that he was about an Affair which would make him talk'd of

*A favourable Opportunity of ruining the Turkish Empire neglected.*

A. D.  
1494.



all Christendom over, and eternize his Name for ever. By ill Fortune the very Day that the *Venetians* had News of the Death of the *Turk's* Brother whom the Pope had deliver'd to our King; the very same Day they resolv'd to give notice of it to the *Sultan* by one of their Secretaries: And being assur'd, that whoever brought the first News would be certain of a great Reward, they order'd that no Vessel should pass between the two Castles in the Night, (which Castles commanded the Mouth of their Gulf) to prevent which they posted Guards at both of them, being fearful of nothing so much as the small Vessels, and *Grips* as they call them, of which there are great Numbers in the Port of *Albania*, and their Islands in *Greece*. The poor Arch-Bishop happening that very Night to set out upon the Lord *Constantin's* Enterprize, and carrying along with him abundance of Swords, Bucklers, and Javalins, for the use of his Confederates who wanted 'em; as he pass'd between the two Castles, he was stopp'd and taken, and himself and Servants secur'd in one of them; but the Vessels had leave to go on. They search'd him, and found Letters about him that discover'd the whole Plot; and the Lord *Constantine* has told me since, that the *Venetians* sent immediate Notice to all the *Turkish* Garrisons that were near, and an Express to the *Grand Seignior* himself; so that had it not been for the *Grip*, which they suffer'd to pass, (whose Master was an *Albanian*, they gave him notice) the Lord *Constantine* had been taken; but escap'd by Sea, and got away into *Apuglia*.

The *Venetians* grow jealous of the Power of the French.

C H A P.



CHAP. XV.

*A long Digression of the Author's concerning the State and Government of the Venetians; and of the Transactions which he saw and observ'd during his Residence in that City, as Ambassador from the King of France,*



**I**T is now high time for me to say something of the *Venetians*; and of the Occasion of my being sent thither in an Embassy, while the King was employ'd in his Affairs at *Naples*. I was sent from *Asti* to return them Thanks for the civil and obliging Answers they had given to two former Ambassadors from his Majesty, and to endeavour, if possible, to continue them in his Friendship, and to cultivate a good Understanding with them: For he saw their Power and Conduct was more like to disturb him than any other in *Italy*. The Duke of *Milan* hasten'd my Dispatch, and wrote to his Resident there (where he was constantly one) to assist me, and give me Instructions to whom I should apply my self. His Ambassador had an Allowance from that Senate of a hundred Ducats a Month, his Lodgings well furnish'd, and three Gondolas to carry him about the Town without a Farthing of Expence; and the *Venetian* Ambassador has the same at *Milan*, excepting the Boats; for there they visit on Horse-back, and at *Venice* in Boats. In my Journey thither I pass'd by several of their Cities, as *Brescia*, *Verona*, *Vincenza*, *Padua*, and other Places. They treated me very civilly where-ever I came, in honour to the Person who sent

*The Occasion of the Author's Embassy to Venice and the Instructions the King gave him.*

A. D.  
1494.

The Situation,  
Po-  
polousnes,  
and Mag-  
nificence  
of Venice.

sent me, and came out to meet me in great Bo-  
dies, with their *Podestate*, and their Captain;  
not that both of them came out together, for  
the Captain came no farther than the Gate.  
When I was entered the Town, I was conducted  
to my Lodgings; the Master of the House was  
commanded that I should want nothing, and my  
whole Charges were born, and mighty good  
Words into the Bargain; yet if you compute  
what is of necessity to be given to the Drums,  
Trumpets, and the Officers in those Ceremo-  
nies, the Ambassador will be found to be but  
little a Saver; but however, my Reception was  
honourable, The Day that I made my Entry  
into *Venice*, they sent to meet me as far as *Liccia*,  
which is five Miles from *Venice*; there they leave  
the Boats, which bring them down the River  
from *Padua*, and put themselves into little Boats  
covered with Tapestry very neat, with fair  
Carpets within, and Velvete Cushions to sit up-  
on. To this Place they come from *Venice* by  
Sea, as being the next Place to sit upon the *Terra*  
*Firma*; but the Sea, (unless agitated by some  
Storm) is very calm, which is the Reason of  
their great Plenty of all sorts of Fish. I was  
extremely surpriz'd at the Situation of this  
City, to see so many Churches, Monaste-  
ries and Houses, and all in the Water, and the  
People have no other Passage up and down the  
Streets but in Boats, of which I believe they  
have near thirty thousand, but they are very  
small. About the City within less than the  
Compass of half a *French* League there are se-  
venty Religious Houses both of Men and Wo-  
men; all situated in little Islands, very beautiful  
and magnificent both in Building and Furniture,  
with fair Gardens belonging to them, without  
reckoning those in the City, where there are  
the

the four Orders of Mendicants, seventy odd Parishes, besides several Fraternities; and indeed it is almost incredible to behold so many stately Churches in the Sea.

A. D.

1494.

I was met and complimented at *Laccia* by five and twenty Gentlemen richly dress'd in their Silks and Scarlet; they receiv'd me with abundance of Civility, and conducted me to *St. Andrew's* Church, which was near the Town, where the same Number of Gentlemen met and complimented me. They were accompanied by the Ambassadors of *Milan* and *Ferrara*, and after they had made another Speech to me, I was conducted into other larger Boats, which they call'd *Plats*, two of which were cover'd with Crimson Sattin, and spread with Tapestry at the Bottom, big enough to hold forty Persons; and placing me between the two Ambassadors (the Middle being the most honourable Place in *Italy*) I was conducted through the longest Street, which they call the *Grand Canal*, so wide that the Gallies do frequently cross one another, I have seen Vessels of four hundred Tun or more ride at Anchor just by the Houses. It is the fairest and best built Street I think in the World, and goes quite through the City; the Houses are very large and lofty, and built of Stone, the old ones are all painted; those of about an hundred Years standing are fac'd with white Marble from *Istria*, which is about a hundred Miles from *Venice*, and in-laid with *Porphyry* and *Serpentine*. Within they have most of them two Chambers at least with gilt Ceilings, rich Chimny-pieces, Bedsteads of Gold Colour, their Portals of the same and gloriously furnish'd. In short, it is the most magnificent City that I have seen, the most respectful to all Ambassadors and Strangers, governs



A. D. 1494. verns it self with the greatest Wisdom, and serves God with the most Solemnity; so that tho' in other things they may be faulty, I believe God blesses them for the Reverence they shew in the Service of the Church. In the Company of these 50 Gentlemen I was convey'd to *St. George's*, (which is an Abby of Reform'd Black Monks) where I had an Apartment prepar'd for me. The next Morning they came to waite on me again, and conducted me to the Senate, where I deliver'd my Credenttials to the *Doge*, who presides in all their Councils, and is honour'd as a King: All Letters are address'd to him, but of himself he cannot do much; yet he has greater Authority than any of his Predecessors had, for he had been Duke above twelve Years; and I found him a prudent Man, of great Experience in the Affairs of *Italy*, and civil and courteous in his Person. The first Day of my Arrival was spent in receiving their Complements, and viewing three or four Chambers in the Duke's Palace: in which the Ceilings, Beds and Portals were all richly gilt, the Apartments were very fine, but the Court is not large. The Duke from his own Chamber can hear Mass at the High Altar in the Chapel of *St. Mark*, which for a Chapel, is the most magnificent Piece of Building in the Universe, being built of *Mosaic Work* of which they pretend to be the Inventers; and indeed it is a Trade amongst them, as I have seen. In this Chapel their Treasure (so much talk'd of) is kept, and intended only for the Decoration of their Churches; there are twelve or fourteen Ballais Rubies, the largest I ever saw, one of them weighs seven, the other eight hundred Carrats, but both of them unpolish'd; there are twelve other Stones in Cases of Gold, the Edges and Forepart set richly with very fine Jewels;

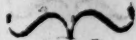
*A Description of the Chappel and Treasury of St. Mark.*

Jewels; there are also twelve Crowns of Gold, wherewith antiently upon certain Festivals in the Year, 12 Women of that City were crown'd, and being styl'd and attended as Queens, they pass'd in great Pomp and Solemnity through all these Churches and Islands; but at length certain Thives from *Istria* and *Friuli* (which are not far off) skulking about those Islands, took their Oppoatunity, and surpriz'd most part of the Women of the City: Their Husbands pursu'd, overtook and recover'd them; upon which they offer'd up their Crowns to St. *Mark*, and founded a Chapel, to which the Senate repairs every Year upon the Day of their Victory. There is great Store of rich Ornaments for the Church, several fair Pieces of Gold, many fine Amethysts and Aggats, and some Emeralds. But this is not a Treasure of equal Value with ready Money, and indeed they have not much of that kind of Treasure; for the Duke told me in the Senate House, that it is a Capital Crime among them to mention any such thing as a Treasure of that nature; and they have reason, lest it might cause Dissention among them: After they had shew'd me their Treasure, I was carry'd to see their Arsenal, where their Gallies are equipp'd, and all things necessary provided for their Navies; which perhaps is the finest in the World, and under the best Order and Regulation.

In short, I resided there eight Months at their Expençe, and all the other Ambassadors who were there did the same; in which time I can assure you I found them so wise, and so intent upon the enlarging their Territories, that if it be not prevented in time, all the Neighbouring States may lament it too late: For since our King's Expedition into *Italy*, which taught'em the

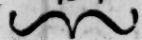
1494.

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*The Venetians do not employ their own Subjects in their Land Expeditions, but hire foreign Troops to serve them in their Wars.*

the Use of Artillery, they are much more dexterous, and skilful in attacking, and defending themselves, than formerly; for they are still at War with him, and yet they have extended their Dominions, and lent Money upon seven or eight Cities in *Apuglia*, which I am not sure will ever be restor'd. Besides, at the King's first coming they did not imagine Towns could have been taken so easily (contrary to their Custom) nor in so short a time; but since they, have been better instructed in the Art of War, have fortified their Towns very strongly, and other Commonwealths have done the same. 'Tis not to be expected that they should arrive to the Perfection and Grandure of the old Romans, for their Bodies are not so able to bear Fatigues of War, neither are they of such a martial Genius; for they never make War upon the Continent in their own Persons, as the Romans did; but they send their *Proveditori*, and their Officers, with their General, to furnish with Provisions, and assist him in his Councils of War. But their Naval Expeditions are wholly manag'd by their own People; their Fleet, both Gallies and Ships, being mann'd with their own Subjects, and commanded by their own Nobility. Another great Advantage they have by not going in Person to the Wars upon the *Terra Firma*, and that is, there is no Man of that Boldness or Interest, as to dare to make any Attempt upon the Government, as they did in Rome; which is great Wisdom, and prevents many Civil Contentions, against which they have provided several Ways, and all very wisely. They have no Tribunes of the People, as they had in Rome (and those Tribunes were in part the Cause of its Destruction;) the People among them are of no Authority, consulted in no Affair



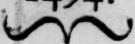
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fair of State, and incapable of bearing any Office; for all their Officers, except the Secretaries, are chosen out of the Gentry, and besides they are generally Strangers. *Titus Livius* has acquainted them perfectly with the Defects of the *Roman* Government, they have his History in great Esteem, and his Bones are preserv'd in their Palace at *Padua*; so that for these and many other Reasons which I observ'd amongst them, I do once more affirm, that they are in a fair way to be a very powerful People hereafter.

But to come to the Business of my Embassy: It was to thank them for their civil Answers, which they had given to two of our King's Ambassadors, who had been sent to them before; by which Answers, he was encourag'd to go on boldly in his Enterprize; and all this pass'd before his Majesty left *Asti*. I gave them a large Remonstrance of the old Alliances between the Kings of *France* and their Republick, and offer'd them *Brindisi* and *Otranto*, upon condition they would engage to restore them, when my Master should deliver them two better Towns in *Greece*. They spoke very honourably both of him and his Affairs; for they did not imagine he would have proceeded so far. As to the Offer which I made them they reply'd, that they were his Friends and Well-wishers, and would not permit him to purchase their Alliance, (for our King had not yet these Towns in his Power) they told me that they were not altogether unprovided for War, if they thought fit to engage; but they were resolv'd not to do it, tho' the *Neapolitan* Ambassadors solicited it daily, and offer'd them very advantageous Terms. King *Alphonso* (who then reign'd) confess'd he had behav'd himself very ill towards them; and laid before them the  
ill

A. D. 1494. ill Consequences of our Master's succeeding in his Designs. The *Turk* on the other hand sent

 an Ambassador immediately to them, (and I saw him several times) who at the Pope's Request threaten'd them heavily, if they did not declare War against our King. They gave fair Answers to all the Ambassadors; but they had no Apprehension of us at that time, and did but laugh at our Expedition. The Duke of *Milan* told them by his Ambassador, that they should not concern themselves in this Affair, for he knew how to send our King back again, without getting any Footing in *Italy*; and he sent the same Message to *Peter de Medicis*, as he told me afterwards. But when they and the Duke of *Milan* saw he had got those Towns of the *Florentines* in his possession, and especially *Pisa*, they began to grow jealous of his Designs, and to contrive how they might hinder him from advancing farther; but their Consultations were tedious, and in the mean time his Majesty's Affairs went prosperously on. However, Messengers pass'd constantly from one to the other, and the King of *Spain* began to be afraid of his Isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The King of the *Romans* began also to be jealous of the Imperial Crown, upon which he was persuaded by some Persons that our King had a Design, and that he had request-ed it of the Pope; but there was nothing in it. For these Reasons the two Kings sent their formal Ambassadors to *Venice* during my Residence there. The King of the *Romans* being their Neighbour, first sent the Bishop of *Trent* as the chief in that Embassy, and with him there were two Gentlemen, and a Doctor at Law; they were receiv'd with great Ceremony and Respect, entertain'd as handsomly as my self, had ten Ducats a Day allow'd them for their Expence,

Several  
Embassies  
to Venice  
to per-  
suade the  
Republick  
to enter  
into an  
Alliance a-  
gainst  
Charles  
VIII.

pence, and the Charge of their Horses (which were left at *Trevi*) born besides. Not long after this there arriv'd a Person of Quality from *Spain*, with a numerous Retinue, and in a very splendid Equipage; who was receiv'd as the other, and his Charges also born. The Duke of *Milan*, besides the Ambassador he had there already, sent the Bishop of *Coma*, and Seignior *Francisco Bernardino Visconti*. They began to have private Conferences in the Night, and at first by their Secretaries; for they durst not declare publickly against the King, (especially the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*.) not knowing what the Success of this Confederacy might be. The Duke of *Milan's* Ambassadors made me a Visit, brought me Letters from their Master, and told me their coming was in return of two Ambassadors which the *Venetians* had sent to *Milan*, whereas the Custom was only to have a Resident there, and at last they had no more. But all this was but Artifice and Cunning; for they all came on purpose to make an Alliance against our King, and so many secret Cabals could not be carried on long, without being known. They ask'd me if I did not know what was the Cause of the coming of the Ambassadors from the two Kings, that they might give their Master an Account of it. But I was inform'd before, (both from the Servants, Ambassadors, and others) that the *Spanish* Ambassador pass'd through *Milan* in Disguise, and that the *Germans* were wholly manag'd by the Duke. Besides, I had notice that the *Neapolitan* Ambassadors deliver'd several Packets of Letters hourly from their Master, (for all this was before our King's Departure from *Florence*.) I was at some Charge for my Intelligence, but what I had, I could depend on. I had notice of the Treaty that was



A. D. 1494. on foot, and what were the first Proposals that were made, but not agreed to; for in such Consultations the *Venetians* are very long. For these Reasons, and seeing the Alliance go on, I would not pretend Ignorance; but answer'd the *Milan* Ambassador, that since they carry'd things so secretly, I would let them know, that my Master would not lose the Friendship of the Duke of *Milan*, if there was a Possibility of preserving it; that I would acquit my self as an Ambassador, and excuse whatever ill Reports might have been made to the Duke of *Milan* against my Master: That the Duke, I did presume, was misinform'd, and that he would act wisely to consider, (before he lost the Recompence of so great a Service as he had already done the King) that the Kings of *France* did not use to be ungrateful; that a rash or inconsiderate Word ought not to break a Friendship that was of such Importance to both of them; and then I desir'd that they would inform me of their Grievances, that I might acquaint my Master with them before they proceeded any farther. They swore to me all of them, and wish'd many Imprecations, if they had any such Thoughts; but they did but equivocate, for they came thither on purpose to negotiate this Alliance.

The Venetians always tedious in their Consultations.

The next Morning I went to the Senate to expostulate with them about it, and to say what I thought proper in the Affair; among other things told them, that by their Alliance with my Master, and their former Alliance with his Father, it was mutually provided that neither should support the Enemies of the other; and that therefore this new League that was so much talk'd of, could not be entertain'd by them, but by Infraction of the former. I was desir'd to withdraw, and being call'd in again by and by, the

A. D.

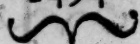
1494.

he Duke told me, that I ought not to believe all the flying Reports of the Town; and that in *Venice* all People had the Liberty of saying what they pleas'd. However, he assur'd me they never had any thoughts of entering into an Alliance against the King, nor ever had heard of it; that their Designs were quite contrary, and rather to make a League between my Master, the two other Kings, and all *Italy*, against the *Turk*, and that each might bear his Proportion in the Charge of the War; and that if in *Italy* there should be any State or Prince that refus'd to pay his Share, that the King and they should join to compel him to do it. As to the War in which my Master was at present engag'd, they told me that they would endeavour to make an honourable Peace for him; and the Terms which they propos'd were, that my Master should accept of a good Sum of ready money, which they would advance upon the Caution of certain Towns in *Apuglia* (which are now in their possession;) that the Kingdom of *Naples* should be held of him by the Pope's Consent, and pay him an annual Tribute; and that my Master should keep three Towns in his Hands as a Security. I wish to God he had accepted those advantageous Offers. I reply'd, that I had no Instructions to enter into any such Treaty: I desir'd that they would not be over-hasty in the Conclusion of their Alliance, that I might have time to acquaint my Master with their Proceedings, and receive his Orders; requesting (as I had done to the other, that they would acquaint me with their Jealousies, and not conceal them as the Ambassadors of *Milan* had done. Then they plainly told me, that they were not pleas'd with the King's having seiz'd upon the Pope's Towns, much less with what he had taken from the *Flo-*



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*rentines*, and particularly *Pisa*; alledging that my Master had written to several Princes, and to them among the rest, that he would meddle with nothing in *Italy* but the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that having conquer'd that, he would undertake something against the *Turk*: That however, he seem'd desirous to get all he could conquer in *Italy*, and not meddle with the *Turk* at all. They told me also that the Duke of *Orleans* his Continuance at *Asti* was a great Terror to the Duke of *Milan*; and that the Ministers of the Duke of *Orleans* had threaten'd him highly: However, they promis'd to conclude nothing before I had an Answer from my Master, or at least before a convenient Time to receive it was past; and they shew'd me more Respect than they did the Ambassadors of *Milan*. I acquainted his Majesty with every Particular, but his Answer was but cold; after which they had Conferences every Day; for they knew their Designs were discover'd. The King of *France* was at *Florence* in the mean time; and if he had met any Opposition at *Viterbo*, as was expected, they had sent Forces to *Rome*; or if King *Ferrand* had continu'd there, which they could not imagine he would have abandon'd; but when they saw he was retir'd, they began to be afraid: Yet the Ambassadors from the two King press'd them hard to come to some Resolution, declaring they would otherwise be gone; for they had been there four Months, every day soliciting the Senate; and I was as diligent in making an Interest against them.

When the *Venetians* understood that several Towns in *Italy* were surrender'd, and were inform'd of the King's being at *Naples*, they sent for me to tell me the News, and pretended to be extremely pleas'd with it; yet gave me to understand,



derstand, that the Castle held out still against him ; that there was a strong Garrison in it, and provided with every thing necessary for its Defence : And I could perceive they had great Hopes it would never be taken; upon which score they had consented the *Neapolitan* Ambassador should raise Forces in *Venice* to be sent to *Brindisi*, and were just upon the Conclusion of their League, when their Ambassadors acquainted them by Letter of the Surrender of the Castle of *Naples*. They sent for me again one Morning, and I found about fifty or sixty of 'em assembled in their Duke's Chamber, who was at that time ill of the Cholick. The Duke with a compos'd Countenance, or rather inclining to Joy, told me the News; but there was none in all the Company could counterfeit so well as himself: Some of them sat upon low Seats, with their Elbows upon their Knees, and their Heads between their Hands; others in other Postures, but all expressing great Sorrow at the Heart; and I believe after the Battle of *Canna* there was not more Terror upon the Senators of *Rome*; for not one of them had Courage enough to look upon me, or speak to me, but the Duke himself, which I thought was very strange. The Duke ask'd me whether the King my Master would observe now what he had always promis'd, and I always told 'em? I assur'd 'em he made them certain Overtures; and promis'd them to use my utmost Endeavours, by way of Mediation, in Hopes by this means to pacify their Fears and Jealousies; and then I took my Leave of 'em.

Their League as yet was neither broken off nor concluded; but the *Germans* in their Passion pretended to be gone. The Duke of *Milan* would not consent to some of the Articles; but at length he sent Instructions to his Ambassadors

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The great  
Consternation that  
the taking  
of the Castle  
of Naples  
put the  
Venetians

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I wrote constantly to our King, advising him to a Peace, or else that he would continue in that Kingdom, and provide himself better with Men and Money; but if he did not approve of my Advice, that he would be pleas'd to make his Retreat towards *France*, before the Confederates had assembled their Forces; and putting strong Garrisons into the chief Towns of *Italy*, would dismantle the rest. I wrote also to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was at *Asti*, but attended with his own Domesticks only, (for his Forces were with the King) that he would throw more Men into that Town, assuring him that he would suddenly be besieg'd in it. I sent likewise to the Duke of *Bourbon* (whom the King had left to be his Lieutenant in *France*) to send what Forces he could spare to reinforce the Garrison of *Asti*; for if that were lost, no Supplies could be sent to the King. I give Notice of it to the Marchioness of *Monferrat*, who (was true to the *French*, and a great Enemy to the Duke of *Milan*) that she might be ready to assist the Duke of *Orleans* with her Forces, if their should be Occasion; for the taking *Asti* would be the Loss of the two Marquisates of *Montferrat* and *Saluzzo*.

The specious  
Pre-  
tence of  
the Alliance  
against  
Charles  
VIII.

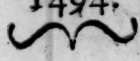
The League was concluded one Night very late; the next Morning I was sent for to the Senate, and something earlier than formerly. As soon as I came thither, and had taken my Seat, the Duke told me, that in honour to the Holy Trinity they had enter'd into an Alliance with the Pope, the Kings of the *Romans*, and *Castile*, and the Duke of *Milan*, upon three principal Ends; one was to defend Christendom against the *Turk*; the second for the Defence of *Italy*; and the third for the Preservation of their Territories;

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ritories; which they desir'd I would notify to the King my Master. They were in all about a hundred, or more, look'd very gay, their Noses toss'd up into the Air, and no such Sadness in their Countenances, as upon the Surrender of the Castle at *Naples*. They also told me that they had written to their Ambassadors, who were attending our King, to take their leave, and come to *Venice*. One of their Ambassadors Names was *Dominick Loredon*, and the other *Dominick Trevisan*. I was extremely troubled and concern'd for my Master's Person, as being fearful that he and his whole Army were in great Danger; for I thought the Confederates were much forwarder than they were, (as they also thought themselves) and that some *German* Troops had been near at Hand. If it had been so, the King could never have got out of *Italy*. I resolv'd with myself to speak little in my Passion, but they provok'd me beyond the Bounds I had set myself: I told them that the Night before I had given my Master Notice of their Alliance (as I had done often) and that he wrote me word he had News of it before, both from *Milan* and *Rome*. The Duke seem'd to be surpriz'd at what I had written concerning the Alliance the Night before; for there are no People in the World so jealous, nor keep their Counsels so secret as they; and upon bare Suspicion they many times imprison their dearest Friends. Upon that Consideration I told them; that I had written to the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, to take care to reinforce the Garrison of *Asti*; and said so, in hopes to discourage them from attempting to surprize it, which they might certainly have done, had they been as ready as they pretended; for it was in a weak Posture of Defence a long time after. They reply'd, That they had no Intentions a-



A. D. 1494.  gainst the King; that what they had done, or should do, would be only in Defence of themselves; and they could not suffer, that my Master should amuse all *Europe* with his fair Words, as he had done; and that when he had promis'd to concern himself with nothing but the Kingdom of *Naples*, and then to turn his Arms against the *Turk*, he should falsify his Word, act quite contrary, possess himself of what he could in the Territories both of the *Florentines* and the Pope, and endeavour to destroy the Duke of *Milan*. To which I answer'd, That the Kings of *France* had been so far from defrauding the Church of any of their Revenues, that on the contrary they had always augmented them, and defended their Rights; That those could not be the Reasons for their League, as they pretended; but that they had a Desire to involve *Italy* in new Troubles, to make their Advantages out of them, and that I thought they intended to do it. They resent'd that Expression of mine, as I was inform'd afterwards, however it prov'd true, as appear'd by what King *Ferrand* engag'd to them in *Apuglia*, to assist him against us. I rose up to have been gone, but they made me sit down again; and the Duke ask'd me, if I had any Overtures of Peace to make, because the Day before I had said something to that purpose; but that was in case they would have protracted the Conclusion of the League for fifteen Days longer, that I might have had time to have writ to his Majesty, and have receiv'd his Answer. After this I retir'd to my Lodgings, and they sent for the rest of the Ambassadors one after another. At my coming out of the Senate I met the *Neapolitan* Ambassador in a new Gown: and very gay; and indeed he had Reason, for this was a lucky Turn of Affairs for him.

him. After Dinner, all the Ambassadors of the League met together upon the Water (which in *Venice* is all their Recreation) the whole Number of their Boats (which are provided at the Senate's Charge, and proportion'd to every Man's Retinue) were about forty, every one of them adorn'd with the Arms of their respective Masters; and in this Pomp they pass'd under my Window, with their Trumpets and other Instruments of Musick. The Ambassadors of *Milan*, (at least one of them) who had often visited me, and was my particular Acquaintance, would take no manner of notice of me now. For three Days together I and my Domesticks kept within Doors; tho' indeed, I cannot say, either they or I were affronted all the while. At Night there were extraordinary Fire-works upon the Turrets, Steeples, and Tops of the Ambassadors Houses, Multitudes of Lights were plac'd, and the Cannon all round the City were fir'd. I was in a cover'd Boat rowing by the Bank's Side, to see this triumphal Sight, about Ten a Clock at Night; especially before the Ambassadors Houses, where the Hubbub was extraordinary. But this was not the Day in which the Peace was proclaim'd; for the Pope had sent to them to defer it for some Days, till *Palm-Sunday*, at which time he had order'd that every Prince in whose Dominions it was publish'd, and all the Ambassadors then with him, should carry an Olive-Branch in their Hand in token of their Alliance and Peace: and that upon the same Day it should be publish'd both in *Germany* and *Spain*. At *Venice* they made a Gallery or large Scaffold of Wood, a good height above the Ground, (as they were wont at the Inauguration of their Dukes) which reach'd from the Palace to the End of the Piazza of *St. Mark*; upon

A. D. 1494. upon which (after Mass was sung by the Pope's Nuncio, and all People absolv'd who were present at the Solemnity) they march'd in Procession; the Senate and the Ambassadors all very splendidly dress'd, several of them in Crimson-Velvet Gowns, which the Senate presented them, especially the *Germans*, and all their Train in new Gowns, but a little of the shortest, After the Procession was ended, a great many Pageants and Pictures were exhibited to the People; as first of all, *Italy*, in one, and then the several Kings and Princes, and the Queen of *Spain*. At their Return, at a *Porphyry-stone*, where such things are usually done, Proclamation was made, and the Alliance publish'd. There was at that time a *Turkish* Ambassador, who look'd privately through a Window, and saw the Solemnity: He had his Dispatch, but would needs stay to see this Formality, and at Night (by the Assistance of a *Greek*) he gave me a Visit, and staid four Hours in my Chamber; and his great Desire was to cultivate a Friendship betwixt his Master and mine. I was twice invited to this Feast, but desir'd to be excus'd; yet I staid a Month after in the Town, and was all the while civilly entertain'd, as before the Publication of this Alliance. At length I was recall'd, and having had an Audience of Leave, they gave me a Pass-port, and conducted me to *Ferrara* at their own Expence. The Duke of *Ferrara* came in Person to meet me, and entertain'd me two Days very handsomly at his own Charge. The same Civility I receiv'd at *Bologna* from *John Bentivoglio*, and being sent for to *Florence*, I continu'd there in Expectation of my Master's coming, in the Relation of whose Affairs I shall now proceed.





THE  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
PHILIP de COMINES,  
Lord of *Argenton*,  
Containing the Principal Exploits  
and Transactions of *Charles VIII.*

B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Order in which the King left his  
Affairs in the Kingdom of Naples upon  
his Return into France.*

A. D.

1494.



O continue my *Memoirs*, and for your  
better Information, we must return  
to our Discourse of the King; who  
from his first Arrival at *Naples* to  
his Departure, minded nothing but his Pleasures,  
and his Ministers nothing but their own Ad-  
vantage. His Youth might excuse him in some

*The ill  
Condition  
in which  
Charles  
VIII. left  
his Affairs  
in the  
Kingdom  
of Naples.*

Measure, of Naples.

A. D.

1494.

Measure, but nothing could excuse them; for the King referr'd all to their Management, and if they had had the Discretion but to have advis'd him to have put strong Garrisons into three or four of the chief Castles, and furnish'd them well with Provisions; nay if it had been only the Castle of *Naples*, (whose Magazines and Furniture were given away, and embezled as you have heard) the Kingdom of *Naples* had been his at this day; for if he had been Master of that Castle the Town would never have revolted, nor by consequence the Kingdom. Upon the Conclusion of this Alliance, he assembled all his Forces together, and order'd five hundred *French* Men at Arms, two thousand *Swiss*, and some *French* Foot for the Guard of the Kingdom; and with the rest he resolv'd to march back into *France* by the same way he came, while the Confederates were as busie to stop him. The King of *Spain* had sent, and was still sending his (a) Caravals into *Sicily*, tho' but few Men on board 'em. However, before our King's Departure, they had garrison'd and furnish'd with Ammunition and Provisions *Rheggio* in *Calabria*, which is the next Town to *Sicily*. I had often acquainted my Master with their Designs of sending Supplies thither, for the Ambassador of *Naples* had told me so, supposing they had been there already; and if the King had sent any Forces thither in time, he would certainly have taken the Castle, and the Town had declar'd for him before. For want of sending thither, they landed Forces at *Mantia* and *Tropea*. The Towns-men in *Otranto* and *Apuglia* had set up our King's Colours but

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(a) A sort of Vessels with Sailes and Oars much us'd in the *Mediterranean*.

being

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being inform'd of the new Alliance, and considering how near Neighbours they were both to *Brindisi* and *Gallipoli*, and how difficult it would be to furnish themselves with Troops, they pulled them down again, and erected the Standard of *Arragon*: And Don *Frederick* being at *Brindisi* supplied them with a Garrison. There was an universal Change in the Minds of the People through the whole Kingdom; and Fortune, which has been so propitious but two Months before, began now to frown upon us, both in Relation to the Alliance, the King's Departure, and the great want in which he left the Kingdom, and that rather in Respect of Officers than Soldiers. The supream Care was committed to Monsieur *de Montpensier*, of the House of *Bourbon*, a brave Soldier and a fine Gentleman, but his Valour was greater than his Wisdom; besides, he was so intolerable lazy, he would never rise till Noon. In *Calabria* he left the Lord *d'Aubigny*, a Scotchman, (a brave and worthy Person) to command in chief. The King had made him Constable of that Kingdom, and given him (as I said before) the Country of *Aen*, and the Marquisat of *Squillazzo*. At his first coming thither the King had made the Seneschal of *Beaucaire* *Stephen de Vers*, Governor of *Cajeta*, Duke of *Nola*, Lord High Chamberlain, and all the Money in that Kingdom pass'd thro' his Hands, he took more upon him than he was able to perform; yet he was very desirous of keeping the Kingdom of *Naples*. The King created Don *Julian* of *Lorraine* a Duke, and made him Governor of *Saint Angelo*, in which Post he behav'd himself with a great deal of Honour and Reputation. He left *Gabriel de Montfaucon* at *Manfredonia*; a Person for whom the King had a great Esteem; but he manag'd things imprudently



A. D. 1494. dently there; for tho' he found it well provided with Corn, and every thing else, yet he deliver'd it up in four Days for want of Provisions; and to all these the King gave great Estates in Land, for several sold what-ever they met withall in the Castle: and it was reported, that *Gabriel* stole away in the Night, and left *William de Ville-neuf* to defend the Town; but being betray'd and sold by some of his own Servants to *Frederick*, he was kept by him a long time in the Gallies. He left *Taranto* to the Command of *George de Suilly*, who behav'd himself well, and held it out, till he was forc'd by Famine to surrender, and then died there of the Plague. In *Aquila* he plac'd the Bailiff *de Vitry*, who discharg'd his Duty as he ought to do; and *Gratian des Guerres* did the same in *Abruzzo*: He left them very little Money, only Assignments upon the Revenue, and of that but very little was ever rais'd. The King took Care to make an handsome Provision for the Princes of *Salerono* and *Bisignano*, who served him faithfully, as long as it was in their Power to do so. He also gratified the *Colonna* in what-ever they demanded, and gave them and their Friends the Possession of about thirty Towns; which if they had defended as they ought, and as they swore to do, they had done his Majesty singular Service, and reap'd the Honour and Advantage of it themselves; for I do not believe they had been so great in a hundred Years before: But they had no Patience to stay till the King had left *Italy*, but fell to caballing. 'Tis true they were engag'd with us upon the Duke of *Milan's* Account, for they are naturally *Gibelines*: However, they ought not to have broken their Oaths, especially having been so civilly treated; besides, the King had oblig'd them farther than all this; for under  
Pretence

A. D.

1494.

Pretence of Friendship he carried Prisoners with him the Lord *Virgil Ursini*, and the Count *de Patilane*, and several others of the *Ursini*, who were their Enemies; which indeed was a little severe; for tho' they were Prisoners of War, yet the King knew they were to have had Pass-ports; for he had sign'd and intended it so himself, and declar'd his Resolution as to that Point to all People: But his Intention was to carry them no farther then *Asti*, and then to dismiss them upon their Parole of Honour. This he did at the Request of the *Colonna*; and yet before he could get thither, they revolted, and appear'd the first against him without the least Pretence or Occasion.



THE

A. D.

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## C H A P. II.

Of the King's Departure from Naples, and his Return to Rome, from whence the Pope fled to Orvieto; of the Conference the King had with the Lord of Argenton, upon his Return from Venice: his Deliberation about the Restitution of the Florentine Towns; and the memorable Predictions of Friar Jerom of Florence.



AS soon as the King, had settled his Affairs as he design'd, he began his March with what Forces he could spare; which I believe were about nine hundred Men at Arms. (including his Guards) and 2500 Swifs; in all of his standing Army about seven thousand Men, besides about fifteen hundred more which followed the Camp, as Servants, and were able to bear Arms. The Count *de Petillane*, who had review'd them, and knew their Number better than I did, told me since the Battle, that they were nine thousand effective Men. The King bent his March directly towards *Rome*, (where his Holiness. having no Mind to attend him) determin'd to go to *Padua*, and put himself under the Protection of the *Venetians*, and Lodgings were assign'd him; but afterwards they chang'd their Minds, and both they and the Duke of *Milan* sent Forces to him to *Rome*, for the Defence of the Town, which arriv'd time enough; yet the Pope durst not stay, though the King had done him all imaginable



imaginable Honour and Service, and sent an Ambassador, on purpose to desire him to stay: But he retir'd to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perusia*, leaving the Cardinals to attend his Majesty at *Rome*. The King was receiv'd very honourably by them, but he made no Stay among them, nor suffer'd the least Injury to be done to any body. From thence I was sent for to attend him at *Siena*, where I waited on his Majesty, who receiv'd me graciously. He ask'd me in a jesting Way, whether the *Venetians* had sent any Forces to fall upon his Rear? For his Men were all young, and he thought no Troops were able to engage with them. I humbly replied, that upon my leaving *Venice*, the Senate inform'd me in the Presence of one of their Secretaries call'd *Loridano*, that they and the Duke of *Milan* would bring 40000 Men into the Field, not to molest him, but to defend themselves; and the same Day I set out from *Venice* they order'd one of their Proveditors who was employ'd against us, to inform me at *Padua*, that their Army should not pass such a River, near (b) *Parma*, (which if I mistake not, was call'd *Oglia*) unless his Majesty invaded the Duke of *Milan*; and the said Proveditor and I took private Tokens and Directions how we might correspond with each other, if there should be any

1494.

A. D.

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(b) Instead of *Parma* we ought to read *Crema* or *Bergamo*; for the *Venetians* have not Territories near *Parma*; besides the River *Oglia* is not near *Parma*, and the *Pau* runs between *Parma* and that River: So that the *Venetians* were oblig'd to pass the *Pau* after their passing the *Oglia*, before they could have reach'd *Parma*. Perhaps the Author means a little Brook call'd in the Description of *Italy*, *Occa*, and in *Blondus*, *Ocha*; but indeed he speaks doubtfully of the Name.

A. D. 1494. Occasion upon a Treaty of Peace; for I was unwilling to refuse any Overture of that Nature; because I knew not how my Master's Affairs might succeed. There was present at our Conference one Monsieur Lewis Marcel, who (as a kind of Treasurer) had that Year the Command of the (c) *Mors Viare*, and was sent by them to conduct me. There were besides in the Company some of the Marquis of Mantua's Servants, who carried him Money; but they were at a Distance, and heard nothing of our Discourse. From these or some body else I procur'd a List of the Confederate Army, their Horse, Foot, and Estradiots, and the chief Officers that commanded them all; but few about the King believ'd what I told him.

After the King had halted two Days at Siena to refresh his Troops, I earnestly press'd his Majesty to march, for the Enemy was not yet join'd and I fear'd nothing till the Germans came up; and the King of the Romans was mighty busie in raising both Men and Money. But whatever I said to the contrary, two things must be first solemnly debated in Council, which took up but a little Time. One was, whether he should restore all the Florentine Towns, and receive thirty Thousand Ducats, (which was an Arrear of a former Gift) and ninety Thousand more which they offer'd to lend him; besides a Re-inforcement of three hundred Men at Arms, (under the Command of *Francisco Secco*, an experienc'd

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(c) 'Tis so in all the French Copies; but certainly it should be *Mont-vieil*, in Italian *Monte-vecchio*, which is a certain Treasure set apart by the Venetians for the Payment of Interest due to the ancient Creditors of their Republick, as appears by the Book of *Donato Gianotti*.

and



and brave Commander, and one in whom the King put great Confidence) and 2000 Foot to secure his Passage into his own Kingdom. 'Twas my Opinion, (and several others agreed with me) that the King should restore all but *Leghorne*, which he should keep till he had reach'd *Asti*. If he had follow'd our Advice he would have been able to have paid his Army, and had enough to have brib'd the Enemy, and then might have fought them as he pleas'd; but we could not be heard; Monsieur de Ligny obstructed it, (who was a young Gentleman, and Cousin-German to the King) but he scarce knew why he did so, unless it were in Compassion to the *Pisans*. The other Point to be debated was set on foot by Monsieur de Ligny himself, and propos'd in Council by one *Gauchet de Tinteville*, and by a Party in *Siena*, who would needs have Monsieur de Ligny for their Governour; for that Town was divided into Factions, and govern'd the worst of any in *Italy*. My Judgment was demanded first, and I answer'd, that I thought it would be better for the King to march forward, than to amuse himself with things of so little Importance which could not be of any Service to him a Week to an end; besides, that Town belong'd to the Emperor, and to dispose of it in that Manner, was to pull the whole Empire about our Ears. Every Body gave in to my Opinion; and yet it was carried against us, and Monsieur de Ligny was made their Governour, with large Promise of a Revenue, but he never receiv'd any. Upon this trifling Debates we stay'd six or seven Days; during which time the King diverted himself among the Ladies, having left in this Town above three hundred of his choicest Troops, to the great weakning of his Army. He advanc'd towards *Pisa* by the way of *Poggio Bonzi*, a Castle

A. D.  
1494.



A. D. belonging to the *Florentines*; but those who were left at *Siena* were driven out in a Month.

*The Predi-  
ctions of  
Friar Je-  
rom con-  
cerning  
the Expe-  
dition of  
Charles  
VIII. into  
Italy.*

I had almost forgot to tell you that while I was at *Florence* in my Way to the King, I went to pay a Visit to a certain Friar call'd *Friar Jerom*, who by Report was a very holy Man, and had liv'd in a reform'd Convent fifteen Years: There went along with me one *John Francis*, a very prudent Person, and Steward of the King's Household. The occasion of my going to visit him, was upon the Account that he had always, both in the Pulpit and elsewhere, spoken much in the King's Favour, and his Words had kept the *Florentines* from confederating against us, for never any of his Profession had so much Authority in that Town. Whatever had been said or written to the contrary, he always affirm'd our King would come into *Italy*; that he should be sent by God himself to chastise the Tyranny of the Princes; and that nothing should be able to oppose him. He foretold likewise that the State of *Florence* should be dissolv'd on the very same Day that his Majesty enter'd the Town, and so it fell out; for *Peter de Medicis* was driven out that very Day. Many other things he presag'd long before they came to pass, as the Death of *Laurence de Medicis*; and he openly declar'd that he had it by Revelation; as likewise that the Reformation of the Church should be owing to the Sword. This is not yet accomplish'd; but it escap'd very narrowly, and he still maintains that it shall be. Many Persons blam'd him for pretending to Divine Revelations; but others believ'd him; for my part I think him a good Man. I ask'd him whether our King would return safe into *France*, considering the great Preparations of the *Venetians* against him? of which he gave a better Account than I could

could, that lately came from *Venice*, He told me he would meet with some Difficulties by the Way, but he would overcome them all, and gain immortal Honour by it, tho' he had but a hundred Men in his Company; for God who had conducted him thither, would guard him back again. But because he had not apply'd himself as he ought, to the Reformation of the Church, and because he had permitted his Soldiers to rob and plunder the poor People, (as well those who had freely open'd their Gates to him as the Enemy who oppos'd him) therefore God had pronounc'd Judgment against him, and in a short time would execute it. However he bid me tell him, that if he would have Compassion of the People, command his Army to do them no wrong, and punish them when they did, as it was his Office to do, that then God would mitigate, if not revoke his Sentence. He told me it would not be sufficient for him to plead: *He did them no wrong himself*, and that he would meet him when he came, and tell him so from his own Mouth, and so he did; and press'd hard for the Restitution of the *Florentine Towns*. When he mention'd the Sentence of God against him, the Death of the *Dauphin* came very fresh into my Mind; for I knew nothing else that would touch the King so sensibly. This I have thought fit to record, to make it the more manifest, that this whole Voyage was a Mystery conducted by God himself.

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## C H A P. III.

Of the King's retaining Pisa, and several other Towns in his Hands, while the Duke of Orleans on the other side entered Novara, in the Dutchy of Milan.

The Petition of the poor Pisans.



WHILE the King (as I said before) was at Pisa, the People of the Town, both Men and Women begg'd of us that for God's sake we would intercede for them to the King, that they might not again be subject to the Tyranny of the Florentines; who indeed treated them very barbarously, but they far'd as well as their Neighbours. Pisa and Florence had been at War three hundred Years, before the Florentines subdu'd them. These Supplications being deliver'd with Tears in their Eyes, wrought strangely upon our Soldiers; so that, forgetting what our King had promis'd and sworn before the Altar of St. John in Florence, they all unanimously (to the very Archers and Swiss) interpos'd in their behalf; and threaten'd all such as were for the King's keeping his Oath, and particularly the Cardinal of St. Malo, who in another Place I call'd General of Languedoc; and him I heard an Archer threaten my self, and others talk'd as boldly to the Marshal de Gie. The President Gannay for three Nights together durst not lie in his own Quarters; and the great Promoter of all this was the Count de Ligny: The Pisans made sad Complaints to the King and mov'd us all to compassionate, tho' we had no Reason to relieve them. One Day after Dinner, as the King was play-



playing at Tables with the Lord *de Pienues*, and only two or three of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber waiting on him, forty arm'd Gentlemen of his Court enter'd the Room, and in the Name of the rest, the Son of *Sallezard* the elder made a Speech to the King, in favour of the *Pisans*, and charging some of the Persons above-named of no less than betraying him; but the King reprimanded them severely, and there never after was any such thing.

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Six or seven Days the King spent to no purpose at *Pisa*; and having alter'd the Garrison, put into the Castle one (d) *Entragues*, a Servant to the Duke of *Orleans*, but an ill-humour'd Man; Monsieur *de Ligny* had recommended him to the King, and by his Interest a Detachment of the Infantry of *Berry* was left with him. This *Entragues* manag'd his Affairs so well (I suppose by his Money) that he was made Governour of *Pietra Sancta*, and another Town not far off, call'd *Motrone*; besides all which he had another Government at *Librefacto* near *Lucca*. The Castle of the Town of *Sarzana* was extremely well fortified, and by the Interest of Monsieur *de Ligny*, the Command of it was given to the Bastard of one *Roussi*, who was the Count's Servant. Another Castle call'd *Sarzanella* he put into the Hands of one of his own Domesticks; so that the King of *France* left great Bodies of his Forces in these Places, (tho' he will never have so much need of them again) and rejected the Assistance and Proffers of the *Florentines*, who upon his Refusal grew desperate, and yet at the same time he had Intelligence that the Duke of *Orleans* had taken the City *Novara*, from the D. of *Mi-*

(d) *Rosier de Balzac*, Lord of *Entragues* and *Dunes*.

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War against him; for they had sent him Word that if he invaded the D. of *Milan*, they should be oblig'd by the Alliance they had lately made to assist him; and their Army, which was numerous was ready to take the Field. But you must understand, that just upon the Conclusion of the League, the Duke of *Milan* had a Design upon *Asti*, supposing he should have found no Troops in it. But my Letters prevented him and hasten'd the Supplies which the Duke of *Bourbon* sent thither; and first there arriv'd forty Lances of the Marshal de *Gie's* Troops, which were left behind in *France*, all very well appointed; and after them five hundred Foot from the Marques di *Saluzzo*. The Arrival of these Forces diverted the Duke of *Milan's* Army commanded by *Galeas di St. Severino*, who was posted at *Nom* a Castle belonging to the said Duke, within two Miles of *Asti*. Sometime after, they were join'd by three hundred and fifty Men at Arms, with the Gentry of *Dauphine*, and all the *Franck* Archers of that County, and 2000 *Swiss*; so that they were in all 7500 fighting Men. It was a prodigious Expence and Trouble to assemble these Forces, and when that was done they did not answer the End for which they were design'd; for they were sent for to have assisted the King; and instead of that he was forc'd to support them. The King had written to the Duke of *Orleans* and the chief Officers, that they should attempt nothing upon the Duke of *Milan* only have a Care to secure *Asti*, and come to meet him as far as the River *Tesino*, where they were to assist and favour his passage, there being no other River where he could de stopp'd; for the Duke of *Orleans* was left at *Asti*, and never went further with the King. However, not-

with.

withstanding the King's Orders to the contrary he was so pleas'd with the Honour of having *Novara* deliver'd into his Hands, (which was but ten Leagues from *Milan*) that he could not contain, but enter'd it in a triumphal Manner, and the whole City, both *Guelphs* and *Gibbelines*, receiv'd him with all the Demonstrations of Joy imaginable, and the Marchioness of *Monterrat* was a great Instrument in the Plot: The Castle held out two or three Days, but if he had gone or sent to *Milan*, where his Party was great, he had been receiv'd with more Joy (as I have been told by great Persons of that Dutchy) than at his own Castle at *Blois*; and the first three Days he might have done it with Ease, for the Duke of *Milan's* Forces were at *Nom* near *Asti* when *Novara* was surpriz'd, and came not up till four Days after; but perhaps he durst not rely upon his Intelligence.





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## CHAP. IV.

*Of King Charles's dangerous Passage over the Mountains between Pisa and Sarzana; of the Germans burning Pontremoli, and the Duke of Orleans's Behaviour at Novara, in the mean time.*

**F**ROM *Siena* the King was come to *Pisa*, as you have already heard, and from *Pisa* he march'd to *Lucca*, where he was well receiv'd by the Town, and stay'd with them two Days; and from thence to *Pietra Sancta*. where Monsieur *Entragues* was Goverour, neither he himself, nor any that were about him having the least Fear or Apprehension of the Enemy. Yet he found great Difficulty in his March over the Mountains, betwixt *Lucca* and that Place, where there were several Passes very easie to have been defended by small Bodies of Foot, but the Confederates were not join'd as yet. Not far from *Pietra Sancta* on one side there is the Pass of *Seierre* or *Salto della Cerva*, and on the other, that of *Roc-tailiè* or *Rotain*, with a deep Marsh at the Foot of it, over which we were forc'd to march upon a Causey, as if it had been thro' a standing Pool. This was the Pass of which I had heard so much Talk, and which I dreaded more than all the rest between *Pisa* and *Pontrema*; for a small Body of Troops with a Cart overturn'd in the midst of it, and two Pieces of Cannon, would have stopp'd our Passage had our Army been never so numerous, From *Pietra Sancta* the King march'd to *Sarzana*, where the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* met him,

him and offer'd (if he pleas'd to send some of his Forces thither (to make *Genoa* revolt to him. It was referr'd to a Council of Officers, among which I was one, and concluded by all that it should not be meddled with; for if the King got the Victory *Genoa* would surrender of Course, if he lost it; it would do him no good, and this was the first time I ever heard them mention fighting. Our Resolution was reported to the King, but for all that, he sent for the Lord de *Bresse*, since Duke of *Savoy*, the Lord (a) de *Beaumont* de *Polignac* my Brother-in-law, and the Lord (b) d' *Aubijoux* of the House of *Amboise*, with sixscore Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, newly sent him by Sea out of *France*. I admir'd a Prince of his Age should not have one Minister of State about him, that durst be plain with, and tell him the Dangers to which he expos'd his Person; but indeed he put no Confidence in what I said. We had a few Forces at Sea, which came from *Naples*, under the Command of Monsieur di *Miolans*, Governour of *Dauphinè*, and one *Stephen de Neves*, of *Montpellier*; they were in all about eight Gallies, and were arriv'd at *Specie* and *Rapalo*, where they were defeated at the time I speak of, and in the same Place, where our Men had beaten King *Alphonso's* Forces in the Beginning of this Expedition, and by the same Party who had been on our side at that Battle, (that is to say Signior *John Lewis di Flisco*, and Signior *John Adorni*) and all

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(a) *John de Polignac*, Lord of *Beaumont* and *Rendam*. He married *Joan de Fambes*, eldest Sister of *Helena de Fambes*, Wife of *Philip de Comines*.

(b) *Hugh de Amboise*, Baron of *Aubijoux*. Brother to the famous Cardinal *George de Amboise*.

A. D. 1494. of them carried Prisoners into *Genoa*. It had been better Management to have had them with the King, and all little enough. Monsieur *de Bresse* and the Cardinal advanc'd into the Suburbs of *Genoa*, expecting their Party in the Town would raise some Disturbances; but the Duke of *Milan* had taken Care to prevent any Insurrection; and the *Adorni* and Signior *John Lewis di Flisco* had given such Orders about that Affair, that our Forces were in great danger of being handled as they had been at Sea, considering the smallness of their Numbers; nor did any thing prevent it but the Fear the prevailing Party in *Genoa* had, that if they should have sallied out of the Town, the *Forgosi* would have risen up in Arms and shut the Gates upon them; however, our Men met with Difficulty enough before they got to *Asti*, to which they march'd on directly, and were not at the Battle, where they might have been more serviceable and better imploy'd. From *Sarzana* the King march'd on towards *Pontrema*, which he was forc'd to pass, it being the Entrance into the Mountains: The Town and Castle were strong, and the Country about it almost inaccessible; and had they been well garrison'd, they could never have been taken; but what Friar *Jerom* told me prov'd true, that God would lead him as it were by the Hand till he was out of all Danger; for the Enemy was blind and stupid, and had not put above three or four hundred Men to defend that important Pass. The King sent his Vanguard to *Pontrema* under the Command of Marshal *de Gie* and Signior *John James di Trivulce*, whom he had entertain'd in his Service ever since King *Ferrand's* Flight out of



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of Naples; this (d) John James was a Gentleman of Milan, of a noble Family, a good Officer, a rich Man, and a great Enemy to the Duke of Milan, as having been banish'd by him; and by his Means the Place was presently deliver'd, and the Garrison march'd out; but a great Inconvenience ensued upon this; for as I have already mention'd, when the Duke of Milan was there last, there happen'd to be a Dispute between the Townsmen and some of the Germans, (forty of which were slain by the Townsmen) so that the Swiss in Revenge, and contrary to their Articles, put all the Men to the Sword, plunder'd the Town, put Fire to it, and burn'd it and all their Magazines, with about ten of their own Men, who being drunk, could not get out; and it was not in the Marshal de Gié's Power to prevent it. After they had committed this Outrage they besieg'd the Castle, in order to have us'd them after the same manner, though the Garrison consisted of none but Signior John James di Trivulce's Troops, which were put into it when the Enemy march'd out; neither would they give over their Attack till the King himself came in Person, and commanded them to desist

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(d) John James di Trivulce, a Native of Milan, Marquis of Vigeve, Goverour of Milan, Captain of an hundred Italian Men at Arms, and two hundred Archers, and Lieutenant General of all the King's Forces in Italy. He did the King signal Service at the Battle of Fornova and Aignadel, and had considerable Employments under Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Francis I. He was created a Marshal of France in 1500. and died in 1518. He was Uncle to Theodore Trivulce, who was also Governor of Milan, and Marshal of France. Their Elogies are to be seen in Brantome's Lives of illustrious Foreigners, Tom. II. Page 476.

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The Destruction of this Place was a great Inconvenience to the King, not so much for the Dishonour (tho' that was considerable) as for the Provisions that were spoil'd, of which there was great Plenty, and we in Extremity of Want: Yet the People were not much against us, only those about the Town who had suffer'd more particularly; but if the King had hearken'd to the Overtures made him by Signior *John James di Trivulze*, several Places and Persons of Importance would have surrender'd and come in to him; for he advis'd him to set up the young Duke's Standard, who was Son of *John Galeas*, the last Duke of *Milan*, that lies buried at *Pavia*, as you have heard; which young Duke was in Count *Lodowick's* Power. But the King would not be persuaded to do it, out of Kindness to the Duke of *Orleans*, who pretended to the Dutchy. Upon which the King march'd from *Pontrema*, and encamp'd in a small Valley, where there were not ten Houses, and the Name I have forgot. He lay in that Camp five Days (I know not why) his Army in great Distress for Provisions, the Main-Body thirty Miles behind the Van (which was march'd before) and to march over high and steep Rocks where such great Cannon were never seen till then; for those which Duke *Galeas* had pass'd that Way with, were but four, and they small, and not above five hundred Weight a-piece, and yet that was then look'd upon as a Miracle.

But to return now to the Duke of *Orleans*: As soon as he had taken the Castle of *Novara*, he lay still for some Days, and did nothing, and at length march'd to *Vegievene*. Two little Towns hard by sent to him, and offer'd to receive his Troops, but he wisely refus'd the Overtures



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vertures they made him. The Citizens of *Pavia* sent twice to him likewise, and there he was mightily to blame in refusing their Offer. In short, he drew up in Battalia before the Town of *Vegievene*, where the Duke of *Milan*'s whole Army was encamp'd, and commanded by the Sons of *Galeas. St. Severino*, so often mention'd before: The Town is worth nothing, not a jot better than *Saint Martin de Caudie*. I came thither not long after, when the Duke of *Milan* and all his chief Officers were there, and they shew'd me the Places where their Armies were drawn up both within and without the Town, and if the Duke of *Orleans* had advanc'd but a hundred Paces farther, the Enemy had retreated over the River *Tesin*, where they had made a large Bridge of Boats and were drawn up on the Bank; besides, I saw them demolish a Fort which they had built on the other side to secure their Pass; for they had resolv'd to quit both the Town and the Castle, which would have been a great Disadvantage to them. This is the Place where the Duke of *Milan* generally resides, and indeed it is the best Seat for Hunting and Hawking, and all kind of Sports that I ever yet saw. But perhaps the Duke of *Orleans* thought the Town stronger than it really was, and that he had done enough already, without attempting any thing farther; and therefore he march'd off to a Place call'd *Trecane*, the Lord of which Place had a Conference with me not long after, and he had something in charge from the Duke of *Milan*. To the Town of *Trecane* they sent the chief Citizens of *Milan* to invite him thither, and tempt him into the Town; offering their Children as Hostages, and they could easily have put him into the Possession of it, as I have been credibly inform'd since by Person's of great Authority,



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city, who were there at that time; for the Duke of *Milan* would not have found Men enough to have defended the Castle, and the Nobility and Commons conspir'd the Destruction of the House of *Sforza*. The Duke of *Orleans* also, and his Men have told me the same, but they durst not trust them; and they wanted a Person that understood them and their Ways better than they; besides, his great Officers were not all of the same Opinion in relation to that Affair. A Body of two thousand Germans sent by the King of the *Romans*, and about a thousand Horse under the Command of Monsieur *Frederick Capelare* born in the County of *Ferrette*, join'd the Duke of *Milan's* Army; with this Reinforcement *Galeas* and the rest of the Officers were so mightily encourag'd that they march'd directly to *Trecane* and offer'd the Duke of *Orleans* Battle; but he was advis'd not to fight, tho' his Army was more numerous than theirs; perhaps the Officers were unwilling to hazard this Army, lest the Loss of it should be the Ruin of the King, of whom they could have no Intelligence, by reason the Couriers were all stopp'd: Upon this the Duke of *Orleans* retreated with his whole Army, having with great Indiscretion neglected the favourable Opportunity of supplying the Town with Provisions, or preserving as they ought what was already in their Magazines, though they might have had enough at that time in the Country round about it without Money, and for fetching; but when they wanted it afterwards, the Enemy was within half a League of the Town.

C H A P.

CHAP. V.

*Of the King's passing the Apennine Mountains with his Train of Artillery, by the Assistance of the Swiss; the great Danger which the Marshal de Giè and his whole Vanguard was in; and the King's Arrival at Fornova.*



WE left the King encamp'd in a Valley on this side *Pontrema*, in great Want of Provisions; and yet he stay'd there five Days without any manner of Occasion. Our *Swiss*, who had committed the great Fault at *Pontrema*, did us a singular Piece of Service at this Time; they were fearful their Crime should give the King a Displeasure against them, that his Majesty would never endure them more; and therefore to atone for what was past they came to him of themselves, and offer'd to convey his great Guns over those almost unpassable Mountains, (and well I may call them so for their Height and Steepness) there being no Track or Path to direct them. I have seen most of the chief Mountains both in *Italy* and *Spain*, but none of them are to be compar'd to these; and this Offer they made upon condition the King would forgive them, which he did. Our Train consisted of fourteen extraordinary great Guns. At the farther End of the Valley we began to climb up a steep Way, where our Mules could scarce get up; these *Swiss* corded themselves two and two together, and drew a hundred, sometimes two hundred in a Company, till they were weary, and then they were relieved

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by as many more; besides these, there were the Horses belonging to the Train, and the Waggon; for every one of the Courtiers who had any Carriage, lent a Horse to hasten their Passage, but had it not been for these *Swiss*, their Horses would never have done it; and to speak Truth they help'd over not only the Artillery but the whole Army, for had it not been for them not a Man could have pass'd the Mountains. Finding themselves so necessary, it encourag'd them exceedingly; and besides they had as great a Desire to be over as the rest of the Army; they had committed many Faults, but this good Action did sufficiently atone for all: However, the greatest part of the Difficulty was not to get the Artillery up, for as soon as they were at the Top, they saw great deep Vallies below them, to which there was no Way but what Nature had prepar'd; for they had never been pass'd before; so that our Horses and Men were forc'd to draw backward, and the letting it down was infinitely more Trouble than the haling it up; and besides, the Smiths and the Carpenters were forc'd to be constantly by; for if any of the Guns slipp'd, they were to be mended before they could go on. Many advis'd the King for Expedition sake to break his great Guns, but he would by no means consent to it.

The Marshal *de Gie* lay thirty Miles before us, and press'd the King to hasten his March; and yet it was three Days before we could reach him, and by that time the Enemy was advanc'd within sight. Their Army was encamp'd in a large Field, about half a League from him; and if they had attack'd him he had certainly been defeated. The Marshal afterward took up his Quarters at *Fornova*, a strong



strong Town at the Entrance into the Plain, and this he did to keep them from assaulting us on the Mountains; but we had a better Guardian than he to protect us, for God put other Thoughts into the Heads of our Enemies, and so blinded their Understandings with Avarice, that they were resolv'd to wait for our coming into the Plain, that they might cut us all to Pieces; for they thought if they should attack us upon the Mountains we might retreat to *Pisa* or some of the Towns we kept in *Florence*: but they were mistaken; for those Places were too remote, and if they had beaten us, they might have pursued as fast as we could have fled, and they would have had the Advantage of knowing the Country better than we. Thus far on our side the War was not begun; but the Marshal *de Gie* sent the King word that he had pass'd the Mountains, and that having sent out a Party of sorry Horse to discover the Enemy, they had been charg'd by their *Estradiots*, and one of them (call'd *le Beuf*) being slain, the *Estradiots* cut off his Head, put it upon the Top of a Lance, carried it to their Proveditor, and demanded a Ducat. These *Estradiots* are of the same Nature with the *Janisaries* in *Turky*, they are Horse and Foot, and habited like *Turks*, only they wear no Turbants upon their Heads. They are hardy People, and lie abroad all the Year round, like their Horses; they were originally *Greeks*, from the Places which the *Venetians* have in their Hands in those Parts, some of them from *Naples*, and *Romagna* in the *Morea*, others from *Albania*, and others from *Durazzo*; their Horses are all *Turkish*, and very good. The *Venetians* employ them often in their Wars, and put great Confidence in them; I

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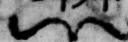
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 saw them all upon their first Landing at *Venice*, and muster'd in the Island where the Abby of *St. Nicholas* is built, and their Number was near fifteen hundred; they are stout nimble Fellows, and will plague an Army terribly, when they once undertake it. These *Estradiots* as I said before having beaten our Party, pursued them to the Marshal's Quarters where the *Swiss* were posted, of whom they kill'd three or four, and carried away their Heads according to their Custom. For the *Venetians* having War against the *Turks* formerly, in the time of *Mahomet* this great *Turks* Father, that Sultan *Mahomet* would not suffer his Soldiers to give Quarter, but allow'd them a Ducat a Head, and the *Venetians* did the same. My Opinion is they did it on purpose to terrify us, and indeed so they did; but the *Estradiots* themselves were no less affrighted with our Artillery; for a Shot from a Faulcon having kill'd one of their Horses, they retir'd with great Precipitation; but in their Retreat they took one of our *Swiss* Captains who was gotten on Horseback, and following to observe their Motions, and being unarm'd, was run through the Body with a Lance. The Captain was a wise Man, and they carried him before the Marquis of *Mantua*, (who was Captain-General for the *Venetians*) and his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus* of *Mantua*, and the Count *di Cajazzo*, who commanded for the Duke of *Milan*, knew him extremely well. The Enemies Army had taken the Field (at least all that were join'd, for some were still to come up) about eight Days before, but lay still in Expectation of their Confederates; so that the King might have gone back into *France* without any Impediment in the World, had he not squander'd away his  
Time



Time to no purpose by the Way as you have heard: But God had order'd it otherwise.

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The Marshal *de Gie* fearing to be attack'd, retir'd to the Mountains. He had with him (as he told me) about eight score Men at Arms, and eight hundred *Swiss* and no more, and from us he could not expect any Assistance; for by reason of our heavy Cannon we could not join him in less than a Day and a half: The King in his March lay at two little Marquisses Houses: Our Vanguard being posted upon the Mountain was afraid of being attack'd by the Enemy, who were drawn up in order of Battle at a good distance in the Plain; but God (who had always preserv'd our Army) infatuated our Adversaries Understanding. The *Swiss* Captain being examin'd by the Count *di Cajazzo*, who commanded their Army, and was then in their Van, was ask'd what Number of Men at Arms were with the Marshal, and the Count knew our Strength as well as we did our selves; for he had been with us the whole Campaign.

The *Swiss* magnified our Forces, represented us much stronger than we were, and told him the Marshal had with him 300 Men at Arms and 1500 *Swiss*. The Count told him plainly he lied; for in the whole Army we had not above 3000, and it was improbable we would send half of them before; upon which the Captain was sent Prisoner to the Marquis of *Mantua's* Tent, where a Council of War was call'd, in order to consult how to attack us. The Marquis believ'd what the *Swiss* Captain had said, urg'd that their Infantry were not so good as the *Swiss*, that all their Forces had not join'd 'em, that it would be a great Injury to the Allies to engage without 'em, and that if



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The Fertility of Lombardy compar'd with that of Flanders.

Upon our descending from the Mountains we had the Prospect of the Plain of *Lombardy*, which is the pleasantest and best Country in the World, and most plentiful in every thing : Yet though I call it a Plain, it is scarce passable for a Horse, for 'tis as enclos'd as *Flanders*, or rather more, but much better, and more fruitful, both in Corn, Wine, and Fruit ; and their Ground never lies fallow. It pleas'd us exceedingly to see so fine a Country after the Wants and Hardships which we had suffer'd since our Departure from *Lucca* ; but our Train of Artillery was our greatest Trouble, especially to set down, so steep and difficult was the direct Way. In the Enemies Camp there were great Numbers of Tents and Pavillions, which represented

presented it very large; and indeed so it was; the *Venetians* having made good their Message by me to the King, when they promis'd that the Duke of *Milan* and they would bring forty thousand Men into the Field, and if they had not their full Number, they wanted not much of it, for they were five and thirty thousand effective Men, and of them four parts in five were in the *Venetian* Pay. They had at least two thousand Men at Arms barb'd, every on with his Bow-man on Horse-back, or some other Person in Livery, and four Horses attending him: Their *Estradiots* and other light Horse were about five thousand, and the rest were all Infantry, encamp'd very strong, besides a large Train of Artillery with them.

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1494.

The King descended from the Mountains about Noon, and took up his Quarters in *Fornova* the fifth of *July*, being *Sunday*, in the Year 1495. We found good Store of Provision both for our Horses and our selves. The People receiv'd us very kindly, for no body of any fashion did them the least Injury: They brought us Victuals and bread, but their Bread was small and black, and they sold it very dear, and their Wine was three Parts Water; they brought us likewise some of their Fruits, and were mighty diligent in attending our Army. I order'd them to bring me a little of every thing, which I laid before me, but durst not venture to eat any of it; for we had great Suspicion that this Plenty of Provisions was left there on purpose to poison us; so that at first no body touch'd them; and our Jealousy was much encreas'd by the Death of two of our *Swiss*, who were found dead in a Cellar, having kill'd themselves with excessive Drinking, or else died with Cold afterwards, but before

A. D.

1495.

King  
Charles's  
safe Arri-  
val at  
Fornova.



A. D. 1495. Night our Horses began to eat, and at last the Soldiers following their Example, we refresh'd ourselves very well. I must say this in Honour of the *Italians*, we never found that they endeavour'd to do us any Mischief by Poison; if they had, we could have hardly secur'd our selves in this March. On the *Sunday* (as I said before) we arriv'd about Noon at *Fornova*, most of our People of Quality eat nothing but a Crust of Bread at the Place where the King alighted and drank; and indeed at that time there was little else to be got; for the Provisions that were in the Town no body durst venture on.

Presently after this Refreshment their *Estradiots* sallied out of their Camp, and pickering up to our very Army, gave us a strong Alarm. Our Men being unacquainted with their Way, drew out into the Field; and put themselves very formally into order of Battle, with a Van, a Body, and a Rear, so exactly well distanc'd that they were not a Bow's Cast one from another, so that upon any Disaster they might easily be supported, but no Action happen'd at that time, and both Parties retir'd to their Camp. Our Tents were but few, and our Camp extended so near to theirs, that twenty of their *Estradiots* were enough to give us an Alarm at any time: Wherefore they still lay in our Front, having the Benefit of a Wood through which they might march up to us before they were discover'd. We lay betwixt two Hills in a Valley, divided by a small River call'd *Tarro*, fordable sometimes on foot, unless it was swell'd by the Waters from the Mountains, which fall suddenly, and are as suddenly gone. The Valley in which we lay encamp'd, being full of Gravel and great Stones, was very in-

commo-



commodious for our Cavalry; it was about a quarter of a League over, and upon the Hill on our right Hand, within half a League of us the Enemy was posted; so that we were oblig'd to pass in sight of their whole Army, and only that River between us. There was on that side we were quarter'd, beyond the Hill on the left Hand, another Road which we might have march'd; but then we should have seem'd to have been afraid of them. About two Days before it was propos'd to me by some prudent Persons in our Army, who now began to be apprehensive of their Danger, that I should go and desire a Parley with the Enemy, and should take another along with me, to observe their Number, and Situation of their Camp. I had no great Inclination to undertake this Affair, (and without a safe Conduct there was no going at all) wherefore I told them, that at my Departure from *Venice*, and at *Padua*, I had taken my leave very kindly of the Proveditors, and that we had promis'd Correspondence upon occasion, and therefore I did not question but upon any Overture of a Treaty they would meet me half Way; whereas if I should condescend to go to them, it would but make them the more arrogant; besides, I fear'd it was too late. The same Sunday I wrote to the Proveditors (one of them was call'd *Luques Pisano*, and the other *Melchior Trivisano*) desiring that according to the Agreement between our selves at my Departure from *Padua*, they would send me a Passport, in order to have a Conference with them. They sent me Word, they would have done it with all their Hearts, had we not begun a War against the Duke of *Milan*: However, one of them (as they should agree) would meet me in some Place in the mid-way between the

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A. D. 1495. the two Armies. I had their Answer the same Night, but none of those who were great with the King took any Notice of it. I was fearful of meddling too far, lest they should have interpreted it cowardise; so that I press'd it no farther that Night, though I would willingly have done any thing to have deliver'd the King and his Army out of Danger, with any Safety to my self.

*Wrong Measures that were taken by Charles VIII. which occasion'd the Battle of Fornova.*

About mid-night the Cardinal of St. Malo being come from the King, and his Tent being near mine, came to me, and told me, that the King would march the next Morning; that he was resolv'd to pass by them, and when he began to march, that he would fire some of his great Guns into their Army by way of Defiance, and then march on in as good Order as they could. I am of Opinion it was the Cardinal's own Advice, for he was ignorant in such Cases, and knew not what Counsel to give; and it had been much more prudent in the King to have call'd a Council of his Officers, and all the grave Men about him, to have consulted what Measures had been proper to have been taken in that Exigence of Affairs; but the Case had been the same, for in this very March I had seen many things concerted in Council with very great Prudence, but manag'd quite contrary when they came to be executed. I told the Cardinal that if we came so near as to fire into their Camp, they would certainly come out and skirmish with us, and that then it would be impossible to avoid a general Battle; besides, it did not consist with the Overture I had made, so that I was extremely concern'd to hear the Resolution the King had taken. However, such was my Condition from the beginning of this Kings Reign, that I durst not



not intermeddle, for fear I should disoblige his Favourites, and make them my Enemies, who had indeed greater Authority with him than they ought to have had.

That Night we had two great Alarms, and all through our own Negligence, in not having taken the same Precaution to secure our selves against the Incursions of the *Estradiots*, as we us'd to do against the light Horse, for twenty of our Men at Arms with their Archers would have stopp'd two hundred of them, but they were new to us then. We had great Rains that Night also, and such Claps of Thunder and Lightning, as if Heaven and Earth were coming together; or that this was an Omen of some impending Mischief. But we were at the foot of great Mountains, in a hot Country, and in the Height of the Summer, so that the thing was natural enough; however it was very terrible, and our Consternation was encreas'd by our Enemies being so numerous before us, and no Possibility to pass without fighting them, which must be done upon great Disadvantage; for our Army was but small, not amounting to above nine thousand Men in the whole, and of them I believe two thousand were Servants, and such as follow'd the Camp, without reckoning Pages and Footmen belonging to the Officers.

CHAP.



*The Battle of Fornova, in which the French defeated their Enemies; and of the Count de Petillane's making his Escape from his Imprisonment during the Fight, and his rallying their Army.*

**T**HE next Morning, the sixth of July, 1495. being Monday, by seven a-Clock, the King mounted on Horse-back, and call'd for me several times: I came to him, and found him compleatly arm'd, and mounted upon the best Horse I ever saw in my Life. The Horse was call'd *Savoy*, of the *Bressian* Breed, and presented him (according to common Report) by *Charles Duke of Savoy*: It was a black Horse with but one Eye, of no extraordinary Stature, but tall enough for him that was to ride him. This young Prince seem'd that Day quite another thing than what one would take him to be by his Nature, Proportion and Complexion. He was exceeding bashful, especially in speaking, and is so to this Day; and no wonder, for he had been brought up in great awe, and in the Company of inferior People; but now being mounted on his Horse, his Eyes sparkl'd with Fire, his Complexion was fresh and lively, and all his Words shew'd Wisdom and Discretion; so that I partly believ'd the Predictions of *Friar Jerome* (and I thought of it at that time) when he told me that God would conduct him as it were by the Hand, and that he should meet with some Difficulties in his Return to his own Dominions; but that he should overcome them all, and gain immortal Honour by

by it. The King's Business with me was, *That if those People would treat, I might go treat with them*; and the Cardinal being by, he nominated him to go along with me, as also the Marshal *de Gie*, who at that time was in a violent Passion, occasion'd by a Dispute between the Counts *de Narbonne* and *de Guise*, both of which pretended to the Command of the Van that Day. I reply'd, *Sir, I shall observe your Commands; but I never saw two great Armies so near, but they fought before they parted.*

Our whole Army march'd out of their Camp in good Order, the Battalions near one another, as the Day before; but yet methought they did not make so fine an Appearance, as those I had formerly seen under *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and his Father King *Lewis XI.* nor indeed were they half so numerous. The Cardinal and I withdrew a little, and dictated a Letter to the two *Proveditors*, which was written by one *Monfieur Robertet*, one of the King's Secretaries, in whom he had great Confidence. The Substance of the Letter was, that it was the Cardinal's Duty, by virtue of his Quality and Function, to procure Peace, if it lay in his Power; and mine also, for having been Ambassador lately at *Venice*, it would not be improper to be a Mediator now. We signify'd to them that the King's Resolution was only to march through the Country in his way to *France*, without committing any Hostilities; and therefore if they desir'd a Conference, as was propos'd the Day before, we were ready to meet, and would employ all our Interest to accommodate Matters. By this time the Fight was begun, and there was skirmishing in all Places. As we were marching on slowly, with the River between us, we came within a quarter



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Custom to make their Camp so large, that they can put themselves into Battalia within it.

They sent out a Party of their *Estradiots* and Bow-men on Horse-back, and some few Men at Arms; which march'd directly, by private Roads, to the Village of *Fornova*, which we had just left, with a design to pass the little River *Tarro* in that Place, and fall upon our Carriages, which were very numerous (in all I believe, besides Waggon, about 6000 Sumpter-Horses, Mules and Asses.) Their Army was drawn up in as good Order as possible, which they had practis'd several Days before; and they rely'd much upon their Superiorty of Forces. They attack'd the King's Army on every side, so that if we had been beaten, not a Man of us could have escap'd, considering the Country we were in. Those which I mention'd before fell upon our Baggage. On the Left Hand there were the Marquis of *Mantua*, his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus*, the Count *Fortebracio di Mantone*, with the Flower of their Army, consisting of six hundred Men at Arms, as they told me since; and these charg'd our Rear. All the Men at Arms were well barb'd, with their Plumes of Feathers, their (a) *Bourdonnasses*, their Cross-bows on Horse-back, their *Estradiots*, and their Infantry to support 'em. Against the Marshal *de Gie* and our Van-guard, the Count *di Cajazzo* advanc'd with about four thousand Men at Arms well accoutred, and supported also by a good Body of Foot. There was also another

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(a) *Bourdonnasses* were hollow Horsemen's Staves, curiously painted, and us'd in *Italy* by their Men at Arms.



Brigade of Men at Arms commanded by Signior *John Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, a young Gentleman who had never been in a Battle (and to speak the truth, they wanted good Officers as well as we.) These were to second the Count *di Cajazzo*, and fall upon our Van; and there was also another Squadron in the Nature of a *Corps de Reserve* to the Marquis of *Mantua*, which was commanded by *Anthony d'Urbino*, a Bastard to the late Duke *d'Urbino*; besides all which there were two great Bodies left firm in their Camp. This I understood afterwards from themselves, and the next Day I saw it with my Eyes; for the *Venetians* would not venture all at one Stake, nor leave their Baggage unguarded, for fear of being plunder'd; yet in my judgment they had better have put all to a push, since they were so far engag'd.

I shall now acquaint you with what became of the Letter which the Cardinal and I sent by a Trumpet. It was receiv'd by the *Proveditors*, and as soon as they had read it, our great Guns began to play, and they answer'd us; but theirs were not so good as ours. The *Proveditors* sent the Trumpet back, and the Marquis sent another of his with this Message, that they would willingly treat, and upon condition we would give over canonading, they would do so too. I was then at a distance from the King, who was riding up and down from Rank to Rank: I sent back the Trumpets to let him know that our Cannon should cease firing; and sending to that purpose to the Master of the Artillery, both Sides gave over for a time; but on a sudden they fir'd a Gun among us, and ours began to play more fiercely than before with three fresh Pieces which we had levell'd against them. As soon as our two Trumpets were arriv'd in their

A. D. 1495. their Camp, they were carry'd to the General's Tent, where it was solemnly debated whether they should treat, or engage. The Count di Cajazzo (as they told me who were present) urg'd that we were half vanquish'd already; that this was no Time for a Treaty; and one of the *Proveditors* (who told me the Story) was of his Judgment, but the other not. The Marquis was of that mind too, but his Uncle was against it; and being an honest and discreet Man, strenuously oppos'd it; for he lov'd us well, and serv'd against us unwillingly. At length they were unanimous in their Opinion for Fighting.

You must know that the King had plac'd his greatest Strength in his Van; for in it there were about three hundred and fifty Men at Arms, three thousand *Swiss*, (the Hopes of the whole Army) three hundred Archers, and two hundred Cross-bow-men of his own Guard (which was exposing his Royal Person more than he ought to have done) and which he order'd to fight among the Foot. Besides these *Swiss* we had very few Foot; but what we had were distributed among them. There fought on Foot among the *Swiss* the Lord Englebert, Monsieur de Cleves, Brother to the Duke of Cleves, Lornay, and the (a) Bailiff of Dijon, who commanded them; and the Artillery was plac'd in their Front. The Forces that were left in the Town of Florence, and those which were sent to Genoa against the Judgment of all People, would have been of very great Service to us at this time. Our Van-guard had by this time march'd on as far as the Enemy's Camp,

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(a) Anthony de Bessey. See Book 7. Chap. 5.

and every Body expected when they would have attack'd us; but our two other Bodies were neither so near, nor so well order'd as the Day before; and because the Marquis of Mantua (who had already pass'd the River, and enter'd the Plain) was within a Quarter of a League of our Rear ready to attack them, but marching slowly on, and in such close Order, that it was a very fine Sight to behold; the King was forc'd to turn his Back upon his own Van-guard, and face about to the Rear. I was at that time with the Cardinal attending an Answer; but I told him it was no time to wait any longer, and so I pass'd by the *Swiss* Squadron, and went to find out the King. In my Passage I lost a Page (who was my Cousin German) a *Valet de Chambre*, and a Foot-boy who follow'd at a distance; and I did not see when they were slain.

I was not come a hundred Paces, when I heard a great Noise in the Place from whence I came, or a little behind it; it was the *Estradiots*, who were gotten into the King's Quarters, where there were not above three or four Houses, and they rifled his Baggage, and kill'd or wounded four or five Men which belong'd to them, the rest escap'd; they kill'd about a hundred Foot-boys and Servants belonging to our Carriages, and put our whole Train in very great Disorder. When I came where the King was, I found him making of Knights. The Enemy being come very near him, he was advis'd to give over: I heard *Matthew* the Bastard of *Bourbon* (who was in great Favour with the King) and one *Philip du Moulin* (a private, but a very brave Gentleman) call to the King, and say, *On, Sir, on*; upon which he went to the Head of the Army, and plac'd himself di-



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rectly before his Standard, so that there was not a Man that I saw nearer the Enemy, unless it were the Bastard of *Bourbon*. I had not been with the King a Quarter of an Hour before the Enemy was advanc'd within a hundred Paces of his Majesty, who was as ill guarded and attended as any Prince that I ever saw; but he is well guarded, who is guarded by God: And it was true what Friar *Jerom* had presag'd, who said, *That God would lead him as it were by the Hand*. His Rear was posted on the Right, drawn up a little behind him. The next Battalion to him on that side was the Duke of *Orleans's* Troops, consisting of about eight hundred Lances commanded by *Robinet de Frainzelles*, about forty more by the *Sieur de la Trimouille*, and the *Scotch* Archers about one hundred, who put themselves into as close Order as if they had been Men at Arms. I was on the Left among the *Gentlemen des Vingt Escus*, the Pensioners, and others of the King's Household: I will not mention their several Captains, for Brevity's sake; but the Rear was commanded by *Monseigneur de Foix*.

About a Quarter of an Hour (as I said before) after my Arrival, the Enemy being advanc'd as near the King as you have heard, began to couch their Lances, advance upon a gentle Gallop, and in two Bodies charg'd our two Squadrons on the Right of them, and the *Scotch* Archers: Ours advanc'd towards them, and the King as bravely as any. On the Left, where I was posted, we charg'd them on the Flank much to our Advantage; and indeed, to say truth, never Charge was brisker on both Sides. Their *Estradiots*, who were in the Rear of that Division, seeing our Mules and Sumpter-Horses making with all speed to our Vanguard,

guard, and their Camarades beginning to plunder, quitted their Men at Arms, and ran to them to have their Share of the Booty; but certainly, if the weakest Regiments in their Army had but attack'd us with only their Simitars in their Hands (which is a terrible Weapon) considering the Smallness of our Number, we must needs have been beaten; but God assisted us, for no sooner had they charg'd us with their Lances, but their *Italian* Men at Arms fled, and all their Infantry, or the greatest part of them, gave ground also. At the same time that this Squadron charg'd us, the Count *di Cajazzo* attack'd our Van, but they came not so close, for when they should have rested their Lances, their Hearts fail'd, and they put themselves in disorder, and the *Swiss* took fifteen or twenty of them in a Company, and put them to the Sword; the rest fled, and were but indifferently pursu'd; for the Marshal *de Gie* with much ado kept his Forces together, for he perceiv'd another great Body of them not very far off: However, some follow'd the Chase, and the Enemy fled over the Ground where we had charg'd along the Highway with their Swords only in their Hands; for their Lances they had thrown away. But you must know that Brigade which charg'd the King, was warmly pursu'd; for all of us made after them: some of them fled to the Village from whence we were come, others made to their Camp, and all of us after them: only the King staid behind with some few of his Troops, and put himself in no little Danger by doing so. One of the first Men of the Enemy which was slain was the Lord *Rodolphus* of *Mantua*, the Marquis's Uncle (who was to have sent Orders to the Lord *Anthony d'Urbini*, when it was time for him to march) for they thought the Battle

A. D. 1495. would have lasted a long while, according to the Custom of *Italy*, and the Lord *Anthony* excus'd himself upon that score; but I believe he saw nothing to encourage him to advance. We had a great number of Grooms and Servants with our Waggon, who flock'd about the *Italian* Men at Arms, when they were dismounted, and knock'd most of them on the Head. The greatest part of them had their Hatchets (which they cut their Wood with) in their Hands, and with them they broke up their Head-pieces, and then knock'd out their Brains; otherwise they could not easily have kill'd them, they were so very well arm'd: and to be sure there were three or four of our Men to do their Business. The long Swords also which our Archers and Servants wore, did very good Execution. The King continu'd on the Ground where he was charg'd, declaring that he would neither follow the Chase, nor retire to our Van-guard, which was at too far a distance. He had appointed seven or eight young Gentlemen to attend constantly about him. He had escap'd very well the first Charge, considering how near he was to the Enemy; for within twenty Paces of him the Bastard of *Bourbon* was taken Prisoner, and carry'd off to their Camp.

The King (as I said before) remain'd in the same Place, and so ill attended, that of all his Squadron he had none left him but *Anthony des Ambus*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, a little Man, and but ill arm'd; the others were all dispers'd, as he told me himself at Night before their Faces, and they ought to have been ashamed: but they came to his Assistance very seasonably; for a small Party of the routed Enemy coming by upon the Road, and perceiving it so thin of Men, fell upon the King and the Gentle-

Charles  
VIII. in  
great dan-  
ger of his  
Life.



Gentleman of his Bed-chamber; but the King by the Activity of his Horse, (which was the best in the World) kept them in play, till other of his Men came up, which were not far off; and then the *Italians* were all cut in pieces. Upon this the King took their Counsel, and retir'd to his Van, which had never stirr'd from its Ground. Thus the King came off victoriously with the Main Battle, and if the Van had advanc'd but an hundred Paces, the Enemies whole Army had fled; some said they ought to have advanc'd, and others, that they ought not.

Our Troops which pursu'd follow'd them to their very Camp, which was extended towards *Fornova*; and I saw none of our Men touch'd but one *Julian Bourgneuf*, who fell down dead with a Blow that was given him by an *Italian* Man at Arms who pass'd by him; for he was very ill arm'd. Upon that Accident we stopp'd, and cry'd, *Let us return to the King*; and that very Word stopp'd the whole Party to give our Horses Breath, which had been very hard ridden, and were tir'd with the Length of the Way, which was full of sharp Stones and Gravel. Not far from us we saw a Party of about thirty of the Enemies Men at Arms march along; but we were in disorder, and suffer'd 'em to pass. When our Horses had taken a little breath, we went in search of the King, not knowing where he was; we march'd a good Trot, but we had not gone far before we perceiv'd him at a great distance. We caus'd our Servants to alight and gather up the Lances, which lay very thick upon the Field, and especially the *Bourdonasses*; but they were good for nothing, for they were hollow and light, and weigh'd no more than a Javelin, yet finely painted; so that we were better furnish'd with Lances than the Day before, and

A. D. 1495. march'd directly towards the King. In our way we fell in with several Bodies of the Enemies

Foot, who were of the Marquis's Division, and had hid themselves behind the Hills, when he made his Charge upon the King. Several of them were slain, but others got over the River, and escap'd, and we never troubled our selves about them. Some of our Men in the Heat of the Action cry'd out to them, *Remember Guynegate*, which was a Battle we had lost in King Lewis's time in *Picardy* against the King of the *Romans*, where our People fell a plundering the Waggon, tho' there our Men had got nothing; but here their *Estradiots* took what they thought good, and pillag'd as they pleas'd; but they carry'd off only five and fifty of our richest and best cover'd Sumpters, which belong'd to the King, to the two Chamberlains, and one of the King's Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber call'd *Gabriel*, to whose Care were committed all the Relicks and Curiosities, which of a long time had belong'd to the Kings of *France*, and were then in the Army, because the King was there in Person. Several other of our Sumpters and Waggon were overturn'd, lost, and plunder'd by our own Men; but the Enemy had no more than I have already mention'd. We had indeed several Rogues and Wenches which follow'd the Camp on foot, who stripp'd the Dead, and did a great deal of Mischief. To speak the truth (upon impartial Information on both sides) we lost only *Julian Bourgneuf*, the Captain of the King's Gate, nine of the *Scotch* Archers, a Gentleman of the Household, about twenty Horse of the Van-guard, and seventy or eighty Servants belonging to our Baggage. On their side, they lost 350 Men at Arms upon the Place; for no Prisoners were taken, which perhaps never happen'd

The Number of the Slain on both sides at the Battle of Fornova.

pen'd before. Few of their *Estradiots* were slain, for they were busy in plundering when they should have been fighting. In the whole (as I have been inform'd by several of their Nobility) they lost three thousand five hundred Men (others say more) and among them several Persons of Quality. I my self saw a List of eighteen, all of 'em considerable Persons, and among the rest four or five of the *Gonzagues*, which is the Marquis's own Family. The Marquis of *Mantua* in this Battle lost sixty Gentlemen of his own Subjects, all Horse, and not one Foot among them. It is strange, that so many should be kill'd with the Sword, for our Artillery kill'd not ten in both Armies, and the Battle held not a Quarter of an Hour; for as soon as the Enemy had broke their Lances, they fled, and the Chase lasted about three Quarters of an Hour; but their Battles in *Italy* us'd not to be manag'd at this rate; their Custom was to fight Squadron after Squadron, and the Fight lasted sometimes a whole Day together, and at last neither wins the Victory.

The Rout was great on their side; three hundred of their Men at Arms, and most part of their *Estradiots* ran away, some to (a) *Reggio*, and others to *Parma*, which was about eight Leagues from the Field of Battle. When our Army was first engag'd in the Morning, the Count *de Petillane* and the Lord *Virgil Ursini* fled from us; the Lord *Virgil* only retir'd to a Gentleman's House of his Acquaintance hard by, and staid their upon his Parole; but the truth is, we had done him an Injury. The Count *de Petillane*

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(a) This is not *Reggio* in *Calabria*, but another City of the same Name in the Dukedom of *Modena*, fifteen Miles from *Parma*. 'Tis call'd in *Latin*, *Regium Lepedi*.



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ran quite to the Enemy ; he was a Person well known in their Army, for he always had a Command under the *Florentines*, or King *Ferrand* ; he began (as soon as he was got amongst them) to cry out, *A Petillane, a Petillane*, following those who fled above three Leagues, calling out to them, and assuring them that there was no Danger, and that if they fac'd about, the Day would still be their own ; by which means he rally'd a great part of them, and gave them good hopes ; and if it had not been for him, it had been a total Defeat ; for it was a great Encouragement to have such an Officer escape from us, and come into their Assistance. He was eager for attacking us again that very Night, but all the rest of the Officers oppos'd it. He told me so since himself, and the Marquis of *Mantua* confirm'd it, and own'd that Advice to be his ; and this is certain, had it not been for him, their Army would not have kept together till Morning.

As soon as we were got up to the King, we discover'd a great Body of Men at Arms drawn up in Order of Battle without their Camp, with some Foot ; but we could only discover their Heads, and the Tops of their Pikes and Lances. They had stood there all Day, but they were farther off than we imagin'd ; before we could have come at them, we must have pass'd the River, which was deep, and increas'd every Hour ; for it had thunder'd, lightned, and rain'd most prodigiously all that Day, especially during the Fight, and while we were in the Pursuit. The King immediately call'd a Council of War, in which it was debated whether he should advance against this new Body or not. There were then with him three *Italians*, Persons, of very good Quality and Conduct ; one of them was

was Signior *John James di Trivulce* (who is yet living, and behav'd himself very well that Day) another was *Francis Secco*, a brave Man of 72 Years of Age, and bred a Soldier under the *Florentines*; the third was Signior *Camillo Vitelli*, (who with three of his Brothers was then in the King's Service) came unsent for from *Civita-del-Castello* as far as *Sarzana* (which is a great way) to be at this Battle; and finding that it was impossible to come time enough with his Troops, he left them to march slowly after, and advanc'd before with all speed to overtake the King. The two last were of opinion, that we should attack the Body that was still unbroken; but the *French* Officers being consulted, gave their Judgment against it, pretending we had done enough, that it grow late, and was time to think of Quarters. *Secco* persisted, and press'd hard to have that Body charg'd, he shew'd them People passing to and again upon the great Road that led to *Parma*, (which was the next Town they had to retreat to) assuring them that the Enemy was either flying, or rallying again, and as we heard afterwards, he was in the right on't. His Behaviour and Council denoted him to be a Great Man; for all the Officers told me afterwards, and some of them before the Duke of *Milan's* face, that if we had but advanc'd against them, we had certainly obtain'd the greatest and most glorious Victory that the *French* Nation had won in ten Years before; for had we known how to have improv'd it, and oblig'd the People by our civil Treatment of 'em, in eight Days time the Duke of *Milan* would not have had any thing left but the Castle of *Milan*, so inclinable were his Subjects to revolt from him. And the *Venetians* had been much in the same Condition, so that he needed not to have concern'd himself any

A. D.  
1495.

The Victo-  
ry of For-  
nova not  
well pur-  
su'd.

A. D. 1495. any farther about *Naples*; for the *Venetians* would have been able to have rais' Men only in *Venice*, *Brescia* and *Cremona* (which is but a small Place) for all the rest of their Territories would have been lost. But God dealt by us as Friar *Jerom* had foretold, and we had the Honour of the Day, tho' to speak truth our ill Conduct did not deserve it, nor did we know then how to manage our Victory; but now it being in the Year 1497. if such good Fortune should happen to the King, I suppose he could order it better.

Whilst we were in this suspense, the Night drew on, and the Enemy that had fac'd us march'd off into their Camp. We on the other side took up our Quarters about a quarter of a League from the Field of Battle. The King lay in a Farm-House, or (by the Meanness of the Building) a Cottage; but the Barns belonging to it were full of unthresh'd Corn, which serv'd for Provender for our Horses. There were a few Houses besides that in which the King lay, but worse than the other, so as they were but little Benefit to us, and every one was forc'd to quarter as he could. For my part, I remember I lay in a little pitiful Vineyard upon the Ground, without any thing under me; for the King had borrow'd my Cloak in the Morning, and my Baggage was not to be found. He that had any thing to eat kept himself from starving, but very few had any Victuals more than a Crust of Bread, or so, which they took from their Servants. I saw the King in his Chamber, where there were several wounded, amongst the rest, the Seneschal of *Lions*, and others, whom he caus'd to be dress'd. The King was very chearful, and every one was pleas'd he had escap'd so well; but we did not huff and swagger, as we us'd to do, for the Enemy was at hand. All our  
Swiss



Swiss were that Night upon the Guard; the King gave them three hundred Crowns, and they watch'd very diligently, and their Drums beat bravely during the whole Night.

A. D.  
1495.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the Lord of Argenton's going alone to parley with the Enemy, upon the Refusal of those that were deputed to go along with him; and of the King's safe Arrival with his whole Army at Asti.*

**T**HE next Morning I resolv'd with my self to pursue our Negotiation for a Peace, being always very solicitous about the King's Passage in Safety; but I could scarce find a Trumpet that would venture to the Enemies Camp, because nine of their Trumpets had been slain (unknown) in the Battle, and they had taken one of ours, and kill'd another, whom (as I mention'd before) the King had sent to them before the Fight began; but at last one of our Trumpets was prevail'd upon to go, and went to the Enemy with a Pass-port from the King, and brought me another to meet and confer in the Mid-way between the two Armies. I judg'd it to be dangerous; however I resolv'd not to break with them, nor pretend any Difficulty. The King nominated the Cardinal of St. Malo, the Lord de Gie Marshal of France, the (a) Lord de Piennes

(a) Lewis de Hallewin Lord of Piennes, or rather Peene in Flanders, Chamberlain to Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. and Governor of Picardy. 'Tis the same that is mention'd in Brantome's Memoirs of Illustrious French-men. Vol. I.

A. D. 1495. his Chamberlain, and my self. The Enemy appointed the Marquis of *Mantua* Captain General of the *Venetians*, the Count *di Cajazzo* General for the Duke of *Milan*, and formerly of our side, and Signior *Luques Pisano* and *Melchior Trevisano* the two *Proveditors*. We approach'd so near, that we could plainly discern them, and that there were only those four upon the Bank, and the River between us, which was much swell'd the Day before. No Body but they appear'd out of their Camp, and on our side there was no Body but we and a Sentinel that stood over against them. We sent a Herald to know whether they would pass the River to us, which I thought a hard matter to persuade them to, because I believ'd it was what both Sides would scruple to do. Their Answer was, that by Agreement the Conference was to be in the Mid-way between the two Armies; that they had advanc'd already above half-way, and being the chief Officers in their Army, they could not pass over without Danger, which they did not think Prudence to venture. Ours were as careful of themselves, and made the same Difficulty on their side, but would needs have me go and confer with them without farther Instructions. I told them I could not in Discretion go alone, and that I would at least have one Witness along with me; upon which there went with me one of the Kings Secretaries call'd *Robertet*, a Servant of my own, and a Herald, with whom I pass'd the River, in confidence, that if I could not come to any Accommodation, I should yet discharge my self as to them, since by my Means the Conference was accepted. When I came within Hearing, I told them they were not come half-way, as they pretended, and that they ought at least to have come to the River's side;

side; however since they were so near, I did not think it fit to let them return without being spoken with. They reply'd, that the River was broad, and the Noise of the Waters so great, that they could not hear one another to the other Side; and I could use no Argument powerful enough to persuade 'em to advance any farther; but they ask'd me for my Proposals. I answer'd, that I had no such Commission, and that alone I could say nothing to them; but if they pleas'd to offer any thing, I would acquaint the King with it. While we stood talking in this manner, a Messenger came to me to let me know that our Commissioners were going back, and I might make what Overtures I pleas'd; but I refus'd to do that, for they understood the King's Pleasure better than I, as being of his Cabal; besides they had whisper'd in his Ear at their coming away; but as to the Business then in agitation, I knew as much as the best of 'em. The Marquis of *Mantua* began to discourse about the Battle, and ask'd me if the King would have put him to Death, if he had taken him Prisoner. I told him, *No, but he would have treated him honourably*; for the King had reason to esteem him for the great Honour he had gain'd by his attacking him. Then he spoke to me in the behalf of the Prisoners, and particularly of his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus*, whom he thought to be alive, but I knew the contrary; however I assur'd him they should be all civilly us'd; and then I recommended to him the *Bastard of Bourbon*, who was their Prisoner. It was no hard matter to use our Prisoners well; for we had given no Quarter, which perhaps was more than had been known in any Battle before; and the Marquis had lost seven or eight of his near Relations, and about sixscore of his Men at Arms.

After



A. D. After which Discourse I took my leave, and  
 1495. promis'd to return before Night, till when we  
 agreed on a Cessation of Arms.

Upon my Return to the King, and his Secretary with me, he ask'd me what News? and immediately call'd a Council of War in a pitiful poor Chamber; but every Body's Eye was fix'd upon his Neighbour, and we came to no Resolution. The King whisper'd something in the Cardinal's Ear, and then told me I should go back, and see what they would say; (but the Proposition of a Conference proceeding from me, it was probable they would insist that I should make some Overtures first) after which the Cardinal told me I should conclude nothing; but that was trifling, for 'twas not in my power to conclude any thing without Instructions from them. However I would neither say nor do any thing that might hinder my going, for I resolv'd to do no harm, and I was in hopes to discover something by the Enemies Looks, who without doubt were more fearful than we; and perhaps something or other might fall from them, that might be improv'd to the Benefit of both Parties. So I set out for their Camp, but it was Night before I reach'd the Banks of the River, One of their Trumpets met me there, from their four Commissioners, to desire I would advance no farther that Evening; for their *Estradiots* were upon the Guard, who would know no Body, and therefore in all probability it would be dangerous for me to venture; but if I pleas'd, he told me he would stay with me all Night, and conduct me in the Morning. However I sent him back, and told him I would be there again next Morning by eight a-Clock, where he should expect me; or if any thing happen'd to the contrary, I would give them notice by a Herald; for

*The Author's prudent Management of a dangerous Negotiation.*

for I had no mind he should know any thing of our Condition that Night, nor could I tell what Resolution the King would take; for I saw People whispering in his Ear, which made me suspect; and so I return'd to give his Majesty an account of what I had done.

Every Man supp'd on what he could get to eat; and took up his Lodging upon the Ground. About Midnight I went to the King's Chamber, where I found the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber booted and spurr'd, and ready to mount on Horse-back; they acquainted me with the King's Resolution of retreating with all Expedition towards *Asti*, and the Territories of the Marchioness of *Montferrat*; and desir'd me to stay behind, and amuse the Enemy with the Treaty. I heartily thank'd 'em for their Love, told them I took no delight in being kill'd, and that I would be on Horse-back as soon as the best. A while after the King awak'd, and having heard Mass, he mounted immediately. An hour before Day one of our Trumpets sounded the *Bon Guet*, but when we decamp'd we made no use of our Trumpets, nor indeed was it proper to do it: However this silent stealing away in the Night was enough to have discourag'd the whole Army, especially those who knew what belong'd to the Wars; for we turn'd our back upon the Enemy, and consulted nothing but our Safety, which in an Army is of dangerous Consequence. Besides, at our first Decampment we had very ill marching; for the Ways were deep and woody, and having no Guides, we lost our selves several times. I heard the Soldiers call for Guides to their Ensigns; the Master of the Horse and all of them answer'd, there were none: But we had no need of any, for God had conducted us thither, and (as Friar Jerom said) *he would carry*

A. D.  
1495.

*The Retreat of Charles VIII. after the Battle of Fornova.*

A. D. 1495. *us back again*; otherwise it could not have been suppos'd that so Great a Prince would have march'd in the Night without a Guide, where so many might have been had. Besides, God gave us a greater Evidence than this of his immediate Protection; for the Enemy perceiv'd nothing of our Decampment till Noon the next Day, still depending upon the Treaty which I had set on foot; and then the River was so swell'd, it was past four in the Afternoon before any Party durst venture over to pursue us. The first that pass'd was the Count *di Cajazzo* with two hundred *Italian* Horse, but the Current was so strong, they pass'd in a great deal of Danger, and as I was told afterwards, a Man or two were drown'd. In the mean time we march'd on through woody and uneven Ways, where we could go but one a breast for near six Miles together; but at last we came into a fair Plain, where our Van, Artillery, and Baggage were arriv'd before, and were so numerous and great, that at first sight they frighted us, when we saw the white Colours chequer'd with Red, which belong'd to Signior *John James di Trivulce*, and were like those which were carried before the Marquis of *Mantua* in the Fight. Our Van were in no less fear of our Rear, seeing them at a distance out of the Road, and marching towards them as fast as they could; upon which both Parties stood to their Arms, and drew up in Order of Battle: but that Fear was soon over, for our Scouts met immediately, and knew one another; so we march'd to *Borgo San-Donino*, where we halted and refresh'd our Men, and where also a false Alarm was given on purpose to get our *Swiss* out of the Town, lest they should have plunder'd it. From thence we march'd and took up our Quarters that Night

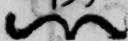


at *Florenfola*, and the second Night near *Placenza*, where we pass'd the *Trebia*, but left two hundred Lances, our *Swiss*, and all our Artillery, except six Pieces, on the other side of the River: and this the King did, that his Army might encamp more commodiously, not doubting but that those Troops might have pass'd it when he pleas'd; for the River is commonly low, and especially at that time of the Year: However about Ten a-Clock at Night it swell'd so fast no Body could get over either on Foot or on Horseback; neither could one Party have reliev'd the other, in case of Necessity, which was very dangerous, considering how near the Enemy was to us. All that Night was spent on both sides in contriving a Remedy, but nothing would do till the Water fell of it self, which was about Five in the Morning. Then we threw over Ropes to the other side to help the Passage of our Foot, who were forc'd to wade up to the Waste. When they were over, the Horse and Artillery came after, but with great Difficulty and Danger, not only from the Garrison of *Placenza*, but from the Count *di Cajazzo*, who was got into the Town, upon Intelligence, that there were Designs to betray it to the King, but it was upon the Title of a young-Son of *John Galeas* the last Duke of *Milan*, who died not long before, as you have heard. If the King would have excepted such Overtures as these, several other Persons and Towns would willingly have come in, by the Interest of Signior *John James di Trivulce*; but he would not hearken to any thing so prejudicial to the Pretensions of his Cousin the Duke of *Orleans*, who was then in *Novara*; and yet to speak impartially on the other hand, his Majesty was not pleas'd with the Grandeur and Power of his Cousin; but his

A. D.  
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chief Design was to march on with his Army, and leave those Disputes to be adjusted as they could. The third Day after the Battle the King din'd at *Castel San-Giovanni*, and lay in a Wood; the fourth he din'd at *Voghera*, and lay at *Pont-Curon*; the next Night he lay near *Tortona*, where he pass'd the River *Scrivia*, which *Fracasse* was to make good; for the Garrison of *Tortona* was for the Duke of *Milan*, and commanded by him: But when he was inform'd by our Quarter-Masters that the King intended not to stay, he retir'd into the Town, and sent us word, that he would furnish us with what Provisions we pleas'd; and he faithfully perform'd his Promise; for our whole Army marching under the Walls of the Town, *Fracasse* came out (in his Arms) to wait upon the King, but attended only by two Persons; he excus'd himself as handsomly as he could for not quartering us in the Town, sent out for more Provisions, (so that our Army was plentifully furnish'd) and came again at Night to pay his Respects to the King at his Tent. But you must know he was of the House of *St. Severino*, Brother to the Count *di Cajazzo*, and the Lord *Galeas*; and not long before had serv'd the King in *Romania*, as has been already observ'd. From thence our next March was to *Nice de la Paille*, which belong'd to the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, and glad we were to reach that Place; for then we were safe, and in the Country of our Friends. Before our Arrival there, the Enemies Light Horse under the Command of the Count *di Cajazzo*, were perpetually at our heels, and gave us great Disturbance; for few of our Horse were willing to be in the Rear, because the nearer we approach'd to a Place of Security, the more difficult it was to persuade them to fight. Some say

'tis

'tis the Nature of the *French*, and *Italian* Authors have written, that in their Attacks they are more than Men, but less than Women in their Retreat. The first part of their Character I believe, for certainly upon a Charge they are the fiercest Nation in the World (I mean their Cavalry) but at the End of an Engagement there is no Nation in the World but is less daring and couragious, than they were in the Beginning of the Action. But to continue our Discourse: Our Rear was brought up by three hundred *Swiss*, with several Field-pieces, and a strong Body of *Arquebusiers* on Horse-back, who bear off their *Estradiots*. However the Grand Army which fought us was pursuing with all possible Diligence, but beginning their March a Day after us, and being heavily arm'd, they could not get up to us; so that we lost not a Man in our Retreat, nor could they ever come within a Mile of our Rear. When they found they could not come up with us (and perhaps they never desir'd it) they turn'd off towards *Novara* where, was we said before, the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* had another Army; but if they could have reach'd us as soon as we began our Retreat, in all probability they had succeeded better than in the Valley of *Fornova*.

A. D.

1495.

The Nature of the French in relation to Fighting.

I have said in several Places of these *Memoirs*, that I have seen and by Experience found, that God was our Conduſter in this Expedition into *Italy*; yet it is convenient for me to repeat it again, for tho' from the time of the Battle to our Arrival at *Nice de la Paille*, our Quarters were unequally taken up; yet we bore the Hardships and Inconveniencies of the long March, without raising any Mutiny or murmuring in the least. Our great Want was of Provisions, yet we were in some measure supply'd by the Country Peo-



A. D. ple, who might easily have poison'd us if they  
1495. had pleas'd, not only in our Victuals and Wines,

but in our Waters too, and our Wells, which might have been dry'd up in a moment; for I do not remember I saw any but what were very small, and would in a moment sometimes be dry'd up. If they had had a mind to have destroy'd us by Poison, it was in their power to have done it, and therefore we may reasonably believe our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ prevented

*The Hard-  
ships the  
French  
endur'd in  
their Re-  
treat.*

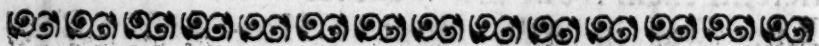
that Desire in them. I have seen our Men so dry, that our Foot in great Numbers have lain down upon their Bellies, and drank out of Ditches about the little Villages through which we march'd. Our Marches were long, and our Drink nothing but standing Water that stunk; and yet our Men were so greedy, they ran themselves up to the Waist to come at it; for we had Multitudes which follow'd the Camp, and were not Soldiers, but belong'd to our Mules. The King always march'd before Day, but never took a Guide with him, nor baited till Noon, and then he din'd; and those that attended him took what care they could of themselves. No Man in the whole Army, tho' of the best Quality, was excus'd from looking to his own Horse, but every one brought his own Straw or Hay in his Arms. Twice I did it my self, and was two Days without eating any thing but Bread, and that none of the best; yet I suffer'd not so much Hardship as others did. Our Army was highly to be commended for one thing, and that is, that I never heard any of our Soldiers complain; and yet it was the most painful and incommodious March I ever made, tho' I have been in several bad enough with *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. We march'd no faster than our Artillery, and were often forc'd to halt, on purpose to mend 'em,  
which

which besides the want of Horses to draw 'em, incommoded us extremely ; but whenever we were hard put to it, we were generously supply'd by the Officers of the Army : so that we lost not one Piece, nor one Pound of Powder in our Retreat ; and yet I am of Opinion never any Man saw Guns of their bigness convey'd with such Expedition through such unpassable Places. When I have mention'd any thing of Disorder or Inconvenience in our Quarters elsewhere, it was not for want of good Officers, and Men of Experience in our Army ; but (as Fortune would have it) they had no Authority with the King, who was young and untractable, as I said before ; so that to conclude, our Saviour Jesus Christ did most manifestly reserve the Glory of that Voyage to himself. The seventh Day after the Battle we march'd from *Nice de la Paille*, and encamp'd all together in the Field, not far from *Alexandria*. We doubled our Guards that Night, and kept very strict Watch, and the next Morning we march'd to *Asti*, (that is to say, the King and those that attended on him) for the Army continu'd in the Field. We found the Town of *Asti* well furnish'd with Provisions, which was a great Refreshment to our wearied Troops, who wanted them sufficiently, having endur'd much Hunger, Thirst, Labour, Heat, and Watching ; and after all had no Clothes to their Backs, to defend them from the Weather. As soon as the King was in *Asti*, about an Hour before Bedtime, I dispatch'd one *Philip de la Coudre* (who had formerly been mine, but was then a Servant to the Duke of *Orleans*) to *Novara*, where the Duke was besieg'd, tho' not so close, but People might get in and out ; for their Design was only to starve 'em. I sent him word by this Gentleman, that our King had several Treaties on foot

A. D.  
1495.

The Arriv-  
val of  
Charles  
VIII. at  
*Asti*.

A. D. 1495. with the Duke of *Milan*, (one of which I managed by the Duke of *Ferrara's* means) for which reason I thought it convenient he should immediately wait on the King, after he had assur'd his Party in the Town that he would return in a short time, or send them Relief. They were no less than 7500 Men in Pay, and as fine a Body of Troops (for their number) both *French* and *Swiss*, as ever were seen in the Field. By that time the King had been a Day at *Asti*, he had Intelligence from the Duke of *Orleans*, and other Places, that the Enemies two Armies were join'd before *Novara*; and the Duke press'd for Supplies, for (by reason of their Imprudence at first) their Provisions began to fail; but had they been so provident when they came into the Town, as they ought to have been, they need not have been in Distress; for there was Plenty enough in the Villages about it, especially of Corn, which if brought timely into the Town, and carefully laid up in Magazines, they would not have been forc'd to surrender: for had they held out but one Month longer, they had come off honourably themselves, and the Enemy with Shame and Confusion.





CHAP. VIII.

*Of the King's fitting out a Fleet with an Intention to have reliev'd the Castles of Naples; and of the Miscarriage of that Design.*

**A**S soon as the King had refresh'd himself some few Days at *Asti*, he march'd to *Turin*; and at his Departure from *Asti* he dispatch'd one *Peron de Basche*, the Steward of his Household, to set out a Fleet with all speed for the Relief of the Castles of *Naples*, which held out for the King. He obey'd his Majesty's Orders, rigg'd out his Fleet, and gave the Command of it to the Lord *d' Arban*, who sail'd with it as far as the City of *Pisa*, or the Isle of *Procita*, within sight of the Enemy; but the Weather was bad and would not suffer them to engage; so that the Fleet came to nothing; for the Lord *d' Arban* returning to *Leghorne*, most part of his Men got on Shoar, and ran away from their Ships, and the Enemy came with their Fleet into the Port of *Portofarato*, not far from *Piombino*, where he continued two Months compleat, so that our Men sent some small Supplies into *Naples*, by reason that the Nature of this Port is such, that unless it be by one single Wind they can hardly get out, and that Wind blows seldom in Winter. The Lord *d' Arban* was (c) valiant in his Person, and a very skilful Admiral.

During the King's Stay at *Turin* many Proposals pass'd between the King and the Duke of

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(c) *Guicciardine* says that the Lord *d' Arban* was no good Admiral, and therefore in all Probability this Passage is corrupted.

A. D. 1495. *Milan*, and some by the Mediation of the Dut-  
 chess of *Savoy*, who was the Marquis of *Monfer-*  
 rat's Daughter, a Widow, and Mother to the  
 young Duke that was then living: Others were  
 transacted by other People: I was also con-  
 cern'd; for the Confederates (by whom I mean  
 the Commanders at that time before *Novara*)  
 had a great desire to have me employ'd in it,  
 and sent me a Passport; but (as there are always  
 Emulations at Court) the Cardinal would not  
 suffer it, but prevail'd that the Overture by the  
 Dutches of *Savoy* might be preferr'd, which was  
 manag'd by the Cardinal's Landlord, who was  
 Treasurer of *Savoy*, a wise Man, and a good  
 Servant to his Mistress: This Treaty took up a  
 long time, upon which the Bailiff of *Dijon* was  
 sent into *Swisserland*, to raise 5000 of their Men.

I have already mention'd the Equipping our  
 Fleet at *Nice*, and its setting Sail for the Relief  
 of the Castles of *Naples*, but it could not be  
 effected for the above-mention'd Reasons; upon  
 which the Lord *de Montpensier*, and the rest of  
 the Officers that were in the Castles aforesaid,  
 (perceiving their Condition) by the Means of  
 the Army, which was left in divers Places for the  
 Defence of that Kingdom, and was then drawn  
 as near the Castle as possible, resolv'd to quit it,  
 leaving a Number to defend the Castles propor-  
 tionable to the Provisions which were left; for  
 they were too little to sustain them all along,  
 and having given the Command of them to *Og-*  
*nas* and two other Officers of Conduct and Ex-  
 perience, the Lord *de Montpensier*, the Prince of  
*Salerno*, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire* and others,  
 march'd off with two thousand five hundred  
 Men, for *Salerno*. King *Ferrand* pretended it  
 was contrary to their Treaty, and that the Ho-  
 stages which they had given him a few Days be-  
 fore,

fore, which were the Lord *d' Alegre*, Monsieur *A. D.*  
*de la Marche d' Ardain*, the Lord *de la Chapel* 1495.  
*d' Anjou*, Monsieur *Roquebertin* a Catalonian, and  
 one Monsieur *Genly*, were at his Mercy, and he  
 might lawfully put 'em to Death. You must un-  
 derstand that some three Months before, by the  
 Intelligence of the Enemy, and our ill Order,  
 King *Ferrand* got into the Town, tho' our Men  
 had Notice of all his Designs. I would inlarge  
 upon this, but I can say nothing but by Hear-  
 say, (yet I had it from very good Hands) how-  
 ever it is not my Method to insist upon any  
 thing that I was not an Eye-Witness of. While  
 King *Ferrand* was in *Naples*, he receiv'd the News  
 of our Master's being kill'd in the Battle of *For-*  
*nova*; and our Men in the Castle had the same,  
 from several Letters and Stories forg'd by the  
 Duke of *Milan*, which they believed as readily  
 as the *Colonna*, who revolted from us immedi-  
 ately, as desiring to be always of the strongest side,  
 tho' (as we said before) they were extremely  
 oblig'd to the King. Upon these Reports, but  
 chiefly because our Men were retir'd in great  
 Numbers into the Castle (where Provisions were  
 scarce) and had lost all their Horses and Houf-  
 hold-stuff in the Town, they came to a Treaty  
 the 6th of *October*, 1495. (after they had been  
 besieg'd three Months and fourteen Days) and  
 about three Weeks after the Treaty they march'd  
 away. They had promis'd, that if they were  
 not reliev'd by a certain Day, they would march  
 off into *Provence*, and leave the Castles without  
 farther Act of Hostility against that Kingdom,  
 either by Sea or by Land; for Performance of  
 which the said Hostages were given. And as  
 King *Ferrand* alledg'd, they had broken their  
 Promise by departing without leave; so ours  
 affirm'd the contrary; but the Hostages were in  
 no



**A. D.** no little Danger, and not without Cause. What-  
**1495.** ever their Articles were, I think our Men did  
 wisely to march away; but they had done better  
 if they had deliver'd up the Castles when they  
 went, and taken their Hostages along with  
 them: for by reason of their want of Provisions  
 and their Dispair of Relief, they were forc'd to  
 surrender them within twenty Days after, and  
 the Loss of the Castle of *Naples* was the Loss of  
 the whole Kingdom.

*The Loss  
 of the Ca-  
 stle of  
 Naples of  
 great Con-  
 sequence  
 to the  
 French.*

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the Famine and Misery the Duke of Orleans  
 and his Army were reduc'd to at Novara:  
 Of the Death of the Marchioness of Mont-  
 ferrat: Of the Death of the Duke of Ven-  
 dome; and the Conclusion of a Peace for  
 the Preservation of the besieg'd after several  
 Negotiations.*

**T**H E King, during his Stay at *Turin*,  
 or at *Quiers*, (whither he went some-  
 time for his Diversion) grew impati-  
 ent for the *Swiss* he had sent the  
 Bailiff of *Dijon* to raise in *Swisserland*; being  
 extremely desirous, if possible, to restore the  
 young Duke of *Milan*, having but little Regard  
 to the Distress of his Cousin the Duke of *Orleans*,  
 who began to be streighten'd in Provisions, and  
 sent Couriers to us every Day to hasten our  
 March in order to relieve him. The Enemy  
 was advanc'd in their Approaches, and gotten  
 nearer the Town than ever; besides, they were  
 reinforc'd with a thousand *German* Horse, under  
 the Command of Monsieur *Frederick Capelare*,  
 of

of the County of *Ferrete*, a brave Soldier and an excellent Officer, and brought up both in the Wars of *Italy* and *France*; they had a Recruit likewise of eleven thousand *Dutch* Foot, out of the Territories of the King of the *Romans*, commanded by (a) Monsieur *George Dabecfn*, a Native of *Austria*, a Person of great Valour, and the very same that took *St. Omers* for the King of the *Romans*,

The King seeing the Enemy's Army daily re-inforc'd, and that no honourable Terms were to be expected, was persuaded to retire to *Vercelli*, and there to concert Measures how to relieve the Duke of *Orleans*, who (as is said before) had taken no Care to erect any Magazines for the Subsistence of his Army upon his first Entrance into *Novara*; and certainly it had been much better for the Duke to have follow'd the Advice which I gave him upon the King's Return to *Asti*, to put all useless Persons out of the Town, and repair himself to the King; for his Presence would have advanc'd his Affairs; at least the Troops he had left behind would not have been reduc'd to such Extremity of Hunger, for he would have capitulated sooner, when he had found there was no Hopes of Relief. But the Arch-bishop of (b) *Roan*, who was with him at the taking of *Novara*, and was then with the King, to solicit in his behalf, sent him Word not to stir, and assur'd him of Relief; grounding his Confidence upon the Promises of the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was the only Man

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(a) In other Authors he is nam'd *Georgio de Pierrapiana*.

(b) *George d' Amboise*, afterwards a Cardinal, and chief Minister of State to *Lewis XII.* from 1498 to 1509. He died at *Leon*.

A. D. 1495. with the King. The Arch-bishop spoke as his Affections prompted him, but I was assur'd of the contrary; for no Body had any Inclination to return to the Battle, unless the King went in Person, and his Majesty had no Inclination to that, the Dispute being only about that Town, which the Duke of *Orleans* desir'd to keep, and the Duke of *Milan* to recover; because being within ten Leagues of *Milan*, he thought it necessary that they should be both under one Jurisdiction, there being nine or ten great Cities within a small Compass depending upon the said Dutchy. However, *Lodowick Sforza* offer'd fair, that if we would deliver up *Novara*, and not disturb him in *Genoa*, in other things he would serve the King to the utmost of his Power.

The great  
Distress  
and Want  
to which  
the Army  
of the  
Duke of  
Orleans  
was reduc'd

Several great Convoys of Provision, both of Corn and Meal, were sent into *Novara*; but they always left half by the Way; and once a small one of sixty Men at Arms, under the Command of *Chastillon* (a young Gentleman belonging to the Court) was quite broken, some taken, some few entred, and others with great Difficulty escap'd; so that 'tis not to be imagin'd the Extremity the Garrison was reduc'd to. Every Day some or other were starv'd to Death, two Parts in three were afflicted with Distemper, of which we had pitiful and continual Accounts, both in Ciphers and otherwise, which came to us with very great Difficulty. We constantly gave them fair Promises, and as constantly deceiv'd them; those who had the sole Administration of Affairs were very inclinable to fight; but they did not consider that no Body desir'd it besides themselves, for the great Officers, as the Prince of *Orange*, (whom, upon his late Arrival, the King often consulted in military Affairs) and all the Officers of the Army desir'd

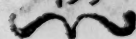


fir'd things might be compos'd and adjust'd by a Peace, because Winter was approaching, Money wanting, their Army but weak and sickly, and Soldiers deserting daily, whilst others were dismiss'd by the King: Yet all the wise Men in the Camp were not able to persuade the Bishop of *Roan* from encouraging the Duke of *Orleans*, and Writing to him not to leave *Novara*; by which Advice they brought him into a great deal of danger; but this Advice proceeded from an Expectation of great Recruits out of *Switzerland*, which the Bailiff of *Dijon* had assur'd them he could raise. Some of our Courtiers wrote to him to bring as many Troops as he could assemble; thus our Councils were divided, and every Man wrote as he pleas'd. Those who were averse to an Accomodation, or to any Meeting about it, pretended the Enemy ought to make some Overtures first, and that it did not consist with the King's Honour to begin; and the Enemy being as high on their side, the poor Garrison in *Novara* suffer'd incredibly, and their Letters were full of nothing but Relations of their Miseries, assuring us first they could not hold out above ten Days, then eight, and at last three; but they had exceeded the Time which they had formerly set. To be short, such Necessities had not been known in our time, nor so great a Famine in an hundred Years before.

During this Posture of Affairs the Marchioness of *Montferrat* died, and left her Country involv'd in some Troubles in Respect of the Competition for its Government. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* pretended to it on one side, and the Lord *Constantine* Uncle to the Marchioness, on the other, who was a *Greek* as well as his Niece, who was the King of *Servia*'s Daughter, but both of them ruin'd by the *Turks*. This Lord

A. D.

1495.



The Death  
of the  
Marchio-  
ness of  
Montfer-  
rat.

Con-

A. D. 1495. *Constantine* had fortified the Castle of *Casale*, where he kept as Prisoners the two Sons (the eldest being scarce nine Years old) of his Nephew the Marquis, by that beautiful and discreet Lady his Niece, who died in the twenty ninth Year of her Age, and was a constant Friend to the *French*. Other Persons pretended likewise to the Government, and there was great contesting before the King by their respective Agents, who endeavour'd to support the Interest of their respective Masters. The King commanded me thither, with Instructions to settle things for the Advantage of the young Children, and the general Satisfaction of the People; fearing lest by those Differences the Duke of *Milan* should be brought in, for the Lord of that Country was his very good Ally. I was extremely concern'd at my Orders, especially being to depart before I could set the Treaty of Peace on Foot again; for I was sensible in what Condition the Town was. I saw Winter approaching, and apprehended lest the (c) Prelates should bring the King to a new Battle, who (unless mightily supply'd from *Switzerland*) would be probably too weak, and if the Supplies were as numerous as they were reported to be, it would not be safe for the King to venture himself in their Hands; besides, the Enemy was powerful, strongly encamp'd, and very well fortified. Upon these Considerations, I presum'd to let the King know, that in my Judgment he would put himself and his Kingdom in very great Hazard, upon a small and trifling Occasion; that the Danger which he escap'd at the Battle of *Forno-*

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(c) The Cardinal of *St. Malo*, and the Arch-bishop of *Roan*.

va ought not to be forgotten, but there he was under a Necessity, here he was not. Wherefore I did humbly recommend to him not to defeat himself of an honourable Accommodation, upon the Ceremony of the first Overture; yet if he pleas'd to authorize me, I question'd not but to make a Peace without the least Dishonour to either side. He reply'd, that he would have me mention it to the Cardinal, and so I did, but he gave me strange unaccountable Answers, expressing an Inclination to fight, and making sure of the Victory; and he told me the Duke of Orleans had promis'd whenever he came to the Dutchy of Milan to give him ten thousand Ducats a Year for one of his Sons. The next Morning I went to wait on the King and take my Leave of his Majesty, in order to begin my Journey to Casale (which would cost me about a Day and a half) I met the Lord de la Trimouille there, acquainted him with what had pass'd (he being in great Favour with the King) and desir'd his Judgment whether I ought to mention the Affair to him again; he told me by all means, for every body was very desirous of Peace. The King was at that time in the Garden; I reviv'd the Discourse before the Cardinal, who told me that he being an Ecclesiastick, it was most proper for him to begin it. I answer'd, if he did not, I would; for I perceiv'd the King was inclinable enough, and all that were about him: After which I took my Leave; and at my Departure I told the Prince of Orange (who commanded the Army in chief) that if I began any thing in that Business, my Addresses should be to him; and so I went to Casale, where I was well receiv'd by all of that Family, and found them all unanimous for the Lord Constantine, as a Person fitter for the Guardianship of the Children,

The Presumption and Avarice of the Cardinal.



A. D. 1495. *The Lord Constantine confirm'd in the Government of Montferrat, by Charles VIII.* dren, as being incapable of the Succession, to which the Marquis of *Saluzzo* pretended a Right. I caus'd a Convention several Days together, both of the Nobility, Clergy, and Towns-men, and at the Request of most of them, I declar'd that it was my Master's Pleasure that the Lord *Constantine* should be continu'd in the Government; for considering the King's Forces on that side of the Mountains, and the Affection that Court had always retain'd to the Court of *France*, I presum'd they would not contradict the King's Desires.

I had scarce been three Days at *Casale* before there arriv'd a Gentleman from the Marquis of *Mantua*, Captain-General for the *Venetians*, in a Complement of Condolance upon the Death of the late *Marchioness*, as being related to the Family of *Montferrat*: This Gentleman was Steward of the Marquis's Household, and he and I by Degrees began to consult how we might prevent the Battle that was like to be shortly; for all things tended to War, and the King was encamp'd not far from *Vercelli*; though to speak the Truth he himself only pass'd the River, and let his Army encamp there, which was but ill provided with Tents and Pavilions, for they had brought but few with them, and those few were lost; besides the Ground was moist, for Winter was coming on, and the Country but low.

*The Death of Francis de Bourbon, Count de Vendosme.*

The King lay but one Night in the Camp, and return'd next Morning to the Town; but the Prince of *Orange* remain'd with the Army, and with him the Counts *de Foix* and *Vendosme*, the latter of which fell into a Dysentery and died, to the unspeakable Sorrow of the whole Army; for he was a Person of great Valour and Conduct, and came thither Post upon the Report of a Battle; but he was not with the King in his Voyage into

into *Italy*. There were likewise the Marshal *de Gie*, and several other Commanders, but their principal Force were the *Swiss*, who had been in *Italy* with the King; for the *French* being so near Home, were very unwilling to stay any longer in the Camp, and several had already left it, some with Leave, and others without it. From *Vercelli* to *Novara* was 10 good *Italian* Miles, that is, 6 *French* Leagues, the Country inclosed and dirty, with Ditches on both sides the Road, much deeper than those in *Flanders*; in Winter the Ways are full of Dirt, and in Summer of Dust. Between our Army and *Novara* there was a little Town called *Borgo*, which we had taken Possession of, and they had another about the same distance from them called *Camarian*, but the Waters being up, the Passage was very difficult from one Army to the other.

But as I was saying; the Steward of the Marquis of *Mantua*'s Household and I continued our Conferences: I gave him several Reasons why his Master ought to be cautious of coming to a Battle. I put him in mind of the Danger he had lately escaped, and that he would expose himself for a People who had never rewarded him for any Service he had done, and that therefore his wisest Method would be to endeavour an Accommodation, and I promised to do all the good Offices that lay in my Power towards it. He replied, that his Master was well enough inclined, but that it would be necessary (as I had received Word before) that we should make the first Overture, because they looked upon the Alliance, consisting of the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Milan*, to be of greater Dignity than a single Monarch. I answered, that that Punctilio was idle and trifling, and that in Justice our King

*The Author's cunning Management of his Master's Affairs.*

A. D. 1495. was to be preferred, because he was there in Person, and the Confederates only by their Lieutenants: But I offered, if he pleased, that he and I would set the Treaty on foot, provided I could be assured his Master would continue it, and stand to the Determination. It was concluded that I should send a Trumpet to their Army the next Morning, and that I should write to Signior *Luques Pisano*, and Signior *Melchior Trevifano*, the two *Proveditors* (which are Commissioners appointed to advise their Generals, and inspect the Affairs of the Army.) In pursuance of what we concluded, I wrote to the *Proveditors* what I had mentioned before to the Marquis of *Mantua's* Steward, and had a fair Opportunity to offer my Mediation, upon the Agreement between us at my Departure from *Venice*: Besides I knew the King was desirous of Peace, and I thought it necessary, for there are always enough to perplex and exasperate an Affair, but few that have the good Fortune and Courage together to compose so great a Difference, or to endure so many hard Words as are inseparable from the Plenipotentiaries in such Negotiations; for in great Multitudes there is variety of Opinions. The *Proveditors* were glad of the News, sent me word I should have an Answer very suddenly, sent Post to *Venice* for Instructions, and having a speedy Answer from the Senate, a Count belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara* was sent to our Army. The Duke of *Ferrara* had one Son in the Duke of *Milan's* Service, and another in the King's; the Count also was in the Duke of *Milan's* Service (his Name was *Albertini*) but his Pretence of coming into our Army was to visit Signior *John James di Trivulce*, and to enquire after a Son of his who was then in his Service: He made his Applications



tions to the Prince of *Orange*, according to the Agreement between the Steward and I, and told him he had a Commission from the Marquis of *Mantua* to desire a Passport for the Marquis and 50 Horse, to meet and confer with such Persons as the King should depute, to acknowledge that in reason they ought to make the first Overture to the King, or such as he should appoint, or to declare that they would pay him that Honour; and then he desired he might have a private Conference with his Majesty, which was granted him, and in which he advised him not to set any Treaty on foot, assuring him that their Army was in great Consternation, and would break up in a very short Time; by these Words he seemed desirous to obstruct that Peace which he was sent to promote, tho' his Commission was as you have heard. *John James di Trivulce* was present when he gave the King this Advice, and being a great Enemy to the Duke of *Milan*, he had no mind to the Peace; but above all, no Man was so averse as Count *Albertini's* Master, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who desired the Continuation of the War upon an old Pique against the *Venetians*, for taking and detaining from him several Territories, as the *Polesan* and others, and was come himself into the Army of the Duke of *Milan*, who had married his Daughter. As soon as the King had heard what the Count had to offer, his Majesty sent for me, and it was warmly debated whether a Passport should be granted or not. Those who were against the Peace (as Signior *John James di Trivulce*, and others, who thought themselves great Favourers of the Interest of the Duke of *Orleans*) were for fighting by all means, but they were most of them Churchmen, and not like to be in the Battel, and they pretended to have

A. D. certain Intelligence that the Enemy must suddenly raise the Siege or be starved to death.

1495.

Others objected (and I was of that Number) that we should be starved first; that they were in their own Country, and their Power too great to be so easily destroyed, and that such Counsels proceeded from Persons who had a mind to engage us in their Quarrels, and set us together by the Ears purely to gratify their own Revenge and Ambition. Yet for all this the Passport was granted and sent, signifying besides, that the next Day at two a-Clock in the Afternoon the Prince of Orange, the Marshal *de Gie*, the Lord *de Piennes*, and myself, with our Retinue, should be between *Borgo* and *Camarian*, near a certain Tower, in which they had a Guard, and that there we should be ready to enter into a Conference. At the appointed Hour we went to the Place under a strong Guard. The Marquis of *Mantua*, and a *Venetian* who had the Command of their *Estradiots*, came to us, and in very civil Language told us, that for their Parts they were for Peace. For better Convenience of Treating, it was agreed, that the next Day some of their Deputies should come into our Army, and that the day after some of ours should go into theirs, which was done. The next Morning there came to us *Francisco Bernardino Visconti* in the Name of the Duke of *Milan*, and a Secretary from the Duke of *Mantua*. On our side, besides the Persons above-mentioned, we had added to us the Cardinal *Saint Malo*, and we began to treat. They demanded *Novara*, and we insisted upon *Genoa* (as feudatory to the King) which the D. of *Milan* had confiscated: They excused themselves as to that, assured us that their Master had acted nothing against ours, but what was in his own Defence: That the Duke of *Orleans* had taken

taken *Novara* from them by Force, and began the War with our King's Forces, and that therefore they did believe their Masters would be hardly persuaded to agree to our Demands, but in any thing else would be ready to comply. Our Conferences lasted two Days, after which they returned to their Army, whither the Marshal *de Gie*, the Lord *de Piennes*, and myself, sent after them, to press the Restitution of *Genoa*. We would have been content that *Novara* should have been surrendered to the King of the Roman's Forces, which were commanded by Signior *George di Pierrapiana*, the Lord *Frederick Capellare*, and another called Monsieur *Hance*; for we found it was not to be relieved without a Battel, which we had no great Inclination to venture, and by this means (as we pretended) we proposed to acquit ourselves very honourably to the Emperor, upon whom the whole Dutchy of *Milan* depended. Several Goings and Comings there were between our Camp and theirs, but we came to no manner of Conclusion. I continued with them by our Master's Direction (who was unwilling the Treaty should be broken off) and at last we came to them again, and with us we brought the President *de Gannay*, and one Monsieur *Morviller*, Bailiff of *Amiens*, to treat with them in *Latin* (for till then I had managed the Conferences in *Italian*, which I spoke but very indifferently) and draw up the Articles. Our Manner of Treating was to go to the Duke's Quarters, and he in Complaisance used to meet us with his Dutcheſs at the end of a Gallery, and then to put us all before him into his Chamber, where there were two great Rows of Chairs ready set, as close as was convenient, and opposite to each other. They placed themselves on one side, and we



A. D.

1495

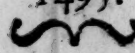
Good In-  
structions  
for nego-  
ziating  
Affairs of  
Importance.

on the other. The first on their side was the Commissioner for the King of the Romans, then the Spanish Ambassador, then the Duke of Mantua, after him the two Proveditors, then the Venetian Ambassador, then the Duke and Dutchess of Milan, and last of all the Duke of Ferrara. On their side none spoke but the Duke of Milan, and on our side Nobody but one. It is not our Method to discourse with that Sedateness of Temper as they do, for sometimes 2 or 3 of us were speaking at a time, but the Duke interrupted us with, *Hold, Gentlemen, one to one is fair.* Being obliged to digest all into Articles, whatever was agreed upon was immediately put into Writing by one of our Secretaries for us, and by another of theirs for them, which were read aloud by the Secretaries, one in *Italian*, and the other in *French*, as was done also at our next Meeting for Expedition sake, and to see whether any thing had been changed, and 'tis a good way of dispatch in any Affair of Importance. This Treaty held about a Fortnight, or longer; but the first Day of our Conference it was concluded the Duke of Orleans might have Liberty to come out of Novara, to which end a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon for that Day, and continued from day to day till the Conclusion of the Peace; and for Surety for the Passage of the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis of Mantua delivered himself as an Hostage into the Hands of the Count de Foix, but he did it voluntarily, and more upon his own Pleasure than any Fear we had of the Person of the D. of Orleans; yet first they made us swear that we proceeded with Sincerity and *bona fide* in the Treaty of Peace, and that we did not do it purely to deliver the Duke out of danger.

CHAP. X.

*Of the Deliverance of the Duke of Orleans and his Army upon Terms of Accommodation; of the Misery they suffered during their being besieged in Novara; and of the Arrival of the Swiss that came to the Relief of the King, and the said Duke.*

THE Marshal de Gie went into the Town of Novara, with others deputed from the Duke of Milan, and dismissed the Duke of Orleans, and some few of his Attendants, to their very great Satisfaction. The Garison and the Inhabitants were so pressed with Hunger and Sicknes, that the Marshal was forced to leave his Nephew Monsieur de Romifort as an Hostage, promising they should all depart within 3 days. You have heard how the Bailiff of Dijon was sent into Switzerland to raise 5000 Men in all the Cantons; but when the Duke of Orleans marched out of Novara they were not arrived, and it was well they were not, for had they joined our Army, certainly (at least in my Judgment) we should have ventur'd a Battel; but if their Number had been far greater than it was, we could not have staid till their Arrival, by reason of the extreme Famine in the Town, where 2000 People were already dead, some with Hunger, some with Diseases, and the rest so lean and meager, they look'd more like dead than living People; and truly I believe never Men endured more Misery (unless at the Siege of Jerusalem) all which had been prevented, if they had been so prudent to have brought in all the Corn and Provisions about the Town upon  
Y 4
their

A. D. 1495.  their first coming into it: Had they acted so wisely, they had never plunged themselves into those Exigences, for the Enemy would have been obliged to have abandoned the Siege, and to have marched shamefully off.

Some 3 or 4 days after the Duke of Orleans had left the Town, it was agreed on both sides that the whole Garison should march out, and the Marquis of Mantua and the Lord Galeas di St. Severino (who commanded both the Venetians and the Duke of Milan's Army) had Orders to see them safely conducted, which was performed, and the Town left in the Hands of the Inhabitants, with an Oath not to deliver it either to the French or the Italians till the Conclusion of a general Peace, only 30 Men were put into the Castle, who were supplied with Provisions by the Duke of Milan, but it was for their Money, and they were never to have more Provision at a time than was sufficient for one single day. No Man that did not see it can believe the Poverty of the Garison that marched out.

The miserable Condition of the Garison of Novara.

They had few or no Horses left, for most of 'em were eaten: Of the 5000 that marched out, scarce 600 of them were able to defend themselves, they fell down frequently in the Road as they marched along, and the Enemy was forced to help them up again. I know those who saved 50 of them for a Crown not far from the little Castle called Camarian, which was in the Enemy's Possession, by lodging them in a Garden, and giving them warm Broths, so that but one of them died. Upon the Way (it being 10 Miles between Novara and Vercelli) 4 more of them died. The King (as a Token of his Compassion) caused 800 Franks to be distributed among those who came to Vercelli, as a Benevolence besides their Pay, which was paid to a Farthing, both



both for the Living and the Dead; and particularly for the *Swiss*, of whom there were near 400 dead; yet notwithstanding all the Care that could be taken, about 30 of them died in *Vercelli*, some with eating too much, others by Diseases contracted with eating too little, and some with the ill Air and Nastiness of the Town.

A. D.  
1495.

About the time that all of them had evacuated the Town, except the 30 in the Castle (and of them one or other came away every day) the *Swiss* arrived in our Army to the Number of 8 or 10000, in which we had already about 2000 remaining of our Expedition to *Naples*; there were 10000 more, but they were quartered at some distance from *Vercelli*; for the King was advised not to suffer the Conjunction of two such great Bodies, which would have amounted to 22000 Men, the greatest Number (I think) that ever came out of their Country at one time, and I have been informed by those that were well acquainted with the Affairs of *Switzerland*, that they scarce left as many more fighting Men behind them; those who did come, came most in spite of our Teeth, and their Wives and Children would also have come along with them, had we not set Guards upon the Avenues in *Piedmont* on purpose to stop them. It may be demanded whether this extraordinary Alacrity proceeded from any extraordinary Affection; for King *Lewis XI.* had done them many good Offices, and contributed much to make them considerable in the World. Indeed there were some old Soldiers who had a Respect for the Memory of King *Lewis*; and some of their Officers were above 70 Years old, and had been in the same Commands against *Charles Duke of Burgundy*; but the chief Motive that induced them

*A prodigious Number of Swiss enter into the King's Service.*

A. D.

1495.

What  
tempted  
the Swifs  
to leave  
their  
Country.

them to leave their own Country was Avarice and Poverty. To speak truth, all their best Men came along with them, and such a Number of brave Fellows I had never seen before together in my Life; and to me it seemed impossible to conquer them, unless by Cold, Famine, or some other Distress.

But to return to the principal Point of our Treaty. The Duke of Orleans having lived 8 or 10 days at his Ease and Pleasure, and attended by all sorts of People, was told, that it was some Diminution to his Honour that such a numerous Garison as was in *Novara* should be reduced to such Necessities for their Affection to him; upon which he began to talk of fighting again, and one or two that were about him encouraged him to it. Monsieur de Ligny and the Archbishop of Roan being highly for his Interest, bribed 30 of the Swifs to come of themselves and offer the Enemy Battle; but without any reason, for the Duke of Orleans had only 30 Men left in the Castle, and there was now no farther occasion to fight, for the King pretended no Quarrel of his own, but was come thither only to rescue his Brother and his Friends; besides, the Enemy was very powerful, and it was impossible to attack them in their Camp; for besides the natural Strength of the Place, they were strongly intrenched, all the Ditches were full of Water, and there were no Forces but ours to give them any disturbance, there being no Sallies to be expected out of the Town. Their Army consisted of 2800 Men at Arms barbed, 5000 Horse, and 11000 Germans, commanded by good Officers, as Signior George di Pierrapiana, Count Frederick Capellare, and Monsieur Hance, besides a great Number of other Foot, so that to talk of attacking them in their

In-

Intrenchments, or beating them so easily, was but a Rodomontade, and spoken in Flattery. Another great Jealousy we had, and that was, lest if the *Swiss* should join and make one Body, they would seize upon the King and all the chief Officers of his Army (who were not able to resist their Power) and carry them into their own Country; and of this there was some design, as you will see by the Conclusion of the Peace.

A. D.

1495.

The Fr.

grow jealous of the Swiss.

CHAP. XI.

*Of the Peace that was concluded between the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one part, and the League on the other; and of the Conditions and Articles contained in that Treaty of Peace.*

THE Debate about this Affair grew at last so fierce amongst us, that in the Heat of the Argument the Duke of Orleans gave the Prince of Orange the Lie; but at last the Marshal de Gie, the Lord de Piennes, the President Gannay, the Lord Morvillier, the Vidame of Chartres, and I, returned to the Enemy's Camp, and concluded a Peace, tho' by several Indications we judged it unlikely to continue long; but we were under a necessity of doing it, both in respect of the Season of the Year, our want of Money, and that we might come off honourably in the Business; to which end the Peace was concluded and engrossed, so as it might be published in the World, which was done afterwards by the King's express Order in Council, and in the Presence of the Duke of Orleans. The Substance of it was, that the Duke of Milan should do Homage

Divisions in the French Army.

The Conditions of



A. D.  
1495.

*the Treaty  
of Peace  
between  
Charles  
VIII. and  
the Princes  
in Alliance  
against  
him.*

Homage to the King for *Genoa*, and serve him against all Opposers; that at his own proper Charge the Duke of *Milan* should set out two Ships for the Relief of the Castles of *Naples*, which yet held out for the King; that the next Year (in case the King made a new Invasion upon that Kingdom) he should furnish him with 3 Ships, and assist him in Person, and give free Passage to his Troops; that in case the *Venetians* did not accept the said Peace in 2 Months time, but continued to assist the House of *Ar-ragon*, that then the Duke was to take part with the King of *France*, and employ his Person and Interest in his Service, upon condition that whatever was taken from the Enemy, should be delivered to the Duke; for which Terms he was to remit to the King 80000 of the 180000 Ducats which he had lent him in his Voyage to *Naples*; that for the Affair of *Genoa*, he should put two Hostages into the King's Hand's; that the Castle should be committed to the Duke of *Ferrara*; to remain neuter for 2 Years; that the Duke of *Milan* should pay one half of the Gari-son, and the King the other; and that if it should happen the Duke should at any time attempt to surprize the Castle, that then the Duke of *Ferrara* was to deliver it to the King; he was likewise to give 2 Hostages for *Milan*, which was performed, and had done as much for *Genoa*, had not the King been in such haste to be gone; but as soon as he went away, the Duke made use of Shifts and Evasions to excuse him- self from doing it.

Immediately upon our Return from swearing the Duke of *Milan*, and bringing word that the *Venetians* had taken 2 Months to accept or refuse (for to other Terms we could not per- suade them) the King swore likewise to the Peace;

Peace; and the next day he resolved to begin his March, both he and his whole Army having a great desire to return into *France*; but that very Night the *Swiss* which were in our Camp began to cabal, and hold private Consultations according to their several Cantons, beating up their Drums, and standing to their Arms (as their Manner is when they call any Councils) and this I was informed of by Monsieur *Lornay*, who was then (and had been long before) one of their chief Officers, and was well acquainted with their Language, and he gave the King Intelligence of it.

Some proposed to seize upon the King, and all the chief Officers of the Army; others went not so high, but moved, that they should demand 3 Months Pay, pretending an old Promise made them by the late King, that such a Sum should be paid them whenever they came out of their own Country into his Service, with their Colours displayed. Others were for securing the chief Ministers about the King, without meddling with his Person; and this they design'd to put in Execution, having already got a great Number of their own Troops into the Town; but before they could come to an Agreement among themselves the King had left *Trino* (which is a Town belonging to the Marquis of *Montferrat*) and in this they were much in the wrong, for there was never but one Months Pay promised them, and they had done nothing for that. At length this troublesome Affair was adjusted; but first those *Swiss* who were with us in the Expedition to *Naples*, had seized upon the Bailiff of *Dijon* and Monsieur *Lornay* (who had commanded them all along) and press'd hard for a Fortnights Pay before they march'd; but the rest insisted upon 3 Months, which in

*The treacherous  
Designs of  
the Swiss.*

all

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all amounted to 500000 Franks, for the raising of which they should secure them as Hostages; and to this they were animated by the *French* themselves, who were averse to the Peace; and of this the Prince of *Orange* was informed by one of their Captains, and he immediately informed the King of it.

The King upon his Arrival at *Trino* sent the Marshal *de Gie*, the President *Gannay*, and me, to the Duke of *Milan*, to desire that he would come to him thither. We used several Arguments to persuade him, and told him it would be a great Confirmation of the Peace; but he gave as many to the contrary, and excused himself upon a Proposition which Monsieur *de Ligny* had formerly made to have had him seized upon, when he was with the King at *Pavia*, and upon certain Expressions which the Cardinal of *St. Malo* had used, who at that time was the only Minister of State in Credit with the King. 'Tis certain that several idle Words were spoken by some about the Court, but yet the King had a great desire to cultivate a Friendship with him. The Duke of *Milan* was at a Place called *Bolia*, and consented to a Conference, provided it might be upon some River, with a Barrier between them. As soon as the King had received his Answer he removed to *Quiers*, where he staid but a Night or two, and then marched away for the Mountains, having dispatched me for *Venice*, and others for *Genoa*, to see the Ships equipt which the Duke of *Milan* was to lend him; but the Duke put the King to a great Expence in Preparations, and at last would not let them go; for instead of keeping his Promise, he sent 2 of them to the Enemy.



CHAP. XII.

*Of the King's sending the Lord of Argenton to Venice again, to invite the Venetians to accept of the Terms of Peace that were offer'd; the Venetians Refusal, and the Tricks and Juglings of the Duke of Milan.*

**T**HE Business of my Embassy to Venice at this time was, to know whether they would come into the Peace, and subscribe to 3 Articles. The first was to restore *Monopoli*, which they had lately taken from us; the second was to re-call the Marquis of *Mantua*, and his Forces out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Service of King *Ferrand*; and the third was to declare that King *Ferrand* was not comprehended in their League, in which mention was made only of the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Milan*. Upon my Arrival at *Venice* they received me very honourably, but not in the same manner as when I was there first, for then we were at Peace, but now at War with each other. I delivered my Message to the Duke of *Venice*, who complimented me highly, and told me I was very welcome; that he would consult with the Senate, and in a short time return me an Answer. For three Days together they appointed solemn Processions, publick Alms to be given, and Sermons all over the City, beseeching God of his Grace to direct them in their Consultations, which, as I was informed, was no more than what they frequently do upon extraordinary Occasions; and truly in religious Affairs, and in the beautifying and adorning their Churches, it is a City of the greatest Reverence and Decency

*The Occasion of the Author's second Embassy to Venice.*

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1495.

Offers  
made by  
the Vene-  
tians.

cency that ever I saw; and in those things I esteem them equal to the ancient *Romans*, from whose Example I question not but that their Senate derives much of its Grandeur, and it is worthy rather to be augmented than lessened. But to the Business of my Embassy, I waited a Fortnight before I had an Answer, and then it was a refusal of all I had demanded. They told me they had no War with the King, and that what they had done was only to assist and support the Duke of *Milan*, who was their Ally, and whom the King had a desire to destroy; yet they permitted their Duke to talk with me alone, and he offered very advantageous Terms, which were, that King *Ferrand* should do Homage to our King for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and by the Pope's Consent; that King *Ferrand* should pay him a yearly Tribute of 50000 Ducats, besides a Sum of Money down upon the Nail, which they would deposite (intending to have the Towns of *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Trani*, and others in *Apuglia*, to be put into their Hands for Security for the said Money) that King *Ferrand* should deliver up or leave the King in Possession of some Towns or Places in *Apuglia* for his Security (and they meant *Tarento*, which our King has still in his Hands) and (if he pleased) two or three more, which they offered should be on that side, because farthest from them, tho' they pretended it was for the Convenience of his Designs against the *Turk*, of which our King had talk'd much at his first Entrance into *Italy*, declaring he undertook that Enterprize for no other End but to be nearer and more ready to invade him; but it was an ill Invention, a meer Fraud, and we cannot so easily conceal our Thoughts from God. The Duke of *Venice* offered besides, that if our King would attempt  
any

any thing against the *Turk*, he should have free Passage for his Troops, through all those Places; and all *Italy* should contribute: The King of the *Romans* would give him Diversion on his side; that the King in Conjunction with them, would be able to govern all *Italy*, in such a Manner, as to compel any of the Princes as should refuse to comply with their Orders; and that for their Part they would assist his Majesty, at their own Charge, with a hundred Gallies at Sea, and five thousand Horse at Land.

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1495.

*Political  
Lies and  
Deceits  
condemn'd  
and cen-  
sur'd by  
the Au-  
thor.*

When I had my Audience of Leave, I told the Duke and Senate I would report all faithfully to the King. I return'd by *Milan*, and found the Duke of *Milan* at *Vegievene*, and the King's Ambassador with him, who was one *Rigault d'Oreilles*, Steward to his Household. The Duke pretended to go a Hunting, and came out to meet me, (for they are very civil to Ambassadors) and order'd me a very noble Apartment in his Castle. I begg'd the Favour that I might have the Honour of having a private Conference with him, which at last he promis'd me, but with some Signs of Reluctancy. The Castle of *Naples* holding out still for us, I was resolv'd to press for the Ships which he was oblig'd to furnish us with by the Treaty at *Vercelli*: The Ships were ready, and he willing in Appearance; but *Peron de Basche* and *Stephen de Neves* being at that time at *Genoa* from our King, and understanding I was at *Vegievene*, wrote to me immediately, complaining of the Duke of *Milan's* treacherous Way of dealing, who pretended to furnish us with Ships, and had sent two of them against us; that the Governor of *Genoa* had told them one Day, that he could not suffer the Ships to be mann'd with *French*; and another, that there could not be above five and twenty of them permitted to



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1495.

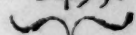
*The Duke  
of Milan's  
fallacious  
Answer to  
Philip de  
Comines.*

be in any one Vessel, with many such trifling Excuses to protract and gain time, till they had heard the News of the taking the Castle of *Naples*, in which the Duke of *Milan* knew there was not Provision enough for above a Month, and that the King's Forces in *Provence* would be unable to raise the Siege without the Assistance of those Ships; for the Enemy had block'd it up by Sea with a great Fleet, as well of the *Venetians* and the King of *Spain's* as their own. I was three Days with the Duke; the first he spent most in Conference with me: and seem'd to be concern'd that I was not satisfied with his Answer about the Ships, to which he added, that tho' at the Treaty of *Vercelli* he had promis'd to serve the King with two Ships, yet he had never promis'd that they should be mann'd with *French*; I reply'd, that in my Judgment that Excuse was but weak and trifling; for if he should send me a good Mule to pass the Mountains on, what favour would it be if he should oblige me to lead her? I should only have the liberty to see her, but no Advantage without I had leave to mount her. After a long Conference he conducted me into a Gallery apart, where I took an Occasion to remonstrate the great Pains which others and my self had taken about the Treaty at *Vercelli*; and the Danger he would bring upon us by acting so contrary, and causing the King to lose his Castles in *Naples*, which would be the Loss of that Kingdom, and an occasion of perpetual Animosity between my Master and him. I offer'd him the Principality of *Tarento*, and the Dutchy of *Bari*, which Dutchy was already his own. I represented to him the Inconveniencies he brought upon himself and all *Italy*, by consenting that the *Venetians* should hold those Places in *Apuglia*, and he confess'd that what I had urg'd

urg'd was true, especially in relation to the *Venetians*; but told me plainly at last he could repose no Confidence in our King.

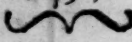
A. D.

1495.



*The brief  
Proceed-  
ings of the  
Duke of  
Milan.*

After this Discourse I took my leave of the Duke of *Milan*, who conducted me a League in my way home, and even at my Departure he invented a more cunning Lie (if it be decent to use such an Expression towards a Prince) than any of his former: Perceiving I was melancholy, he told me on a sudden (as a Man who had quite chang'd his Resolutions) that he would shew himself my Friend at the last, and do that which should make me acceptable to my Master: He promis'd me that the next day he would send the Lord *Galeas* (who was the fittest Man for that purpose) to see his Ships at *Genoa* equipp'd and sent away to join our Fleet: That he would do the King that Service as to save his Castle, and by consequence the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, (and if he had perform'd his Promise he had acted like a Man of Honour) and that when the Ships were sail'd, he would give me an account of it by a Letter under his own Hand, that the King might have the first News of it from my self, and be sensible of the Service which I had done him; adding also that his Letters should overtake me before I got to *Lions*. Big with these Hopes, I departed, and continu'd my Journey over the Mountains. I knew the Man, and durst not be too confident; yet I never heard any Post behind me but I fancied he brought me those Letters. I pass'd on till I came to *Chambery*, where I found the Duke of *Savoy*, who receiv'd me very graciously, and oblig'd me to stay a whole day with him. From thence I proceeded to *Lions*, (but no Letters overtook me) to give the King an Account of my Transactions; for he was there at that time,

A. D. 1495. giving himself up wholly to Feasting, Jufts and other gay Entertainments, without the least  Regard to any thing else.

P. de Comines but *celli* were extremely pleas'd with the Duke of Milan's Prevarication; and indeed they had coldly receiv'd at Reason, for their Authority was encreas'd by it, and I was traduc'd, which in the like Cases is an ordinary thing in the Courts of Princes.

I was very melancholy and angry: I gave the King a Relation, and shew'd him in Writing the Offers which the *Venetians* had made him; but he seem'd not to value them much, and the Cardinal of *Saint Malo*, who at that time had the sole Administration of Affairs, valu'd them less. However, I press'd the King again, believing it better to accept that Offer than lose all; for I saw no body about him fit to manage such an important Affair, and those who were able were never consulted, or at least as seldom as possible. The King was inclinable enough of himself, but loth to displease those to whom he had committed his Affairs, especially those who manag'd his Treasury, as the Cardinal, his Brothers and Relations. This is a fine Example for Princes. It is necessary that they take upon themselves the Conduct of their own Affairs, at least sometimes, and not only call others to Council upon Occasion, but to give them equal Authority and Countenance; for if any Minister of State be grown so great as to become terrible to the rest, and to manage the whole Affairs of a Kingdom according to his Will and Pleasure, (of which sort King *Charles VIII.* was never without one) that Favourite is King in reality, and his Master ill serv'd, as he was always by his Ministers, who did their own Business well enough, but neglected his, to his great Prejudice and Dishonour.

C H A P.

Charles VIII. govern'd by his Favourites, to his own and the Kingdom's Disadvantage.



CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Kings forgetting those that were left behind at Naples, upon his Return into France; and of the Dauphin's Death, which was a great affliction to the King and Queen.*

I Arriv'd at *Lions* the 12th of *December*, 1495. where I found the King and his Army. The King had been abroad in his Expedition about a Year and two Months. The Castles of *Naples* held out still for him, as you have heard: The Lord *de Montpensier*, his Lieutenant in that Kingdom, was at *Salerno* with the Prince of that Place; the Lord *d'Aubigny* was in *Calabria*, where he had done signal Service, tho' under a long Fit of Sicknes; the Lord *Gracian des Guerres* was in *Abruzzo*, Don *Julian* at *Mont St. Angelo*, and *George de Suilly* at *Tarento*; but all of them most miserably poor, and so far abandon'd by our Court, that they could seldom or never receive Advice out of *France*; and when they did, it was nothing but Shams and Promises without effect; for (as is said before) the King did nothing of himself, and if they had been supply'd with Money in time, a sixth Part of what was spent afterwards to no purpose, would have saved that Kingdom from being lost. At length when all was recover'd, they sent them forty thousand Crowns in part of a Year's Pay; and yet if that had arriv'd but a Month sooner, the Calamities and Disgraces which they endur'd, had never befall them, and the Divisions had been prevented; all which was occasion'd through the Sloth and Negligence of the King, who manag'd nothing himself, and would not so much as hear any Body that came from

*The Negligence of Charles VIII. the*

A. D.  
1495.Occasion  
of his lo-  
sing Na-  
ples.

from them, and those he employed were careless and unexperienced, and I fear some of them held a Correspondence with the *Pope*; so that in appearance God had forsaken our King, and taken away that Grace with which he had hitherto conducted him. The King had not been at *Lions* above two Months, or thereabouts, when he receiv'd the unwelcome News, that the (a) *Dauphin* lay dangerously Ill, and three Days after Letters came, that gave an account of his Death. The King was extreamly concern'd at first, as he ought to be out of Paternal Affection; yet his Sorrow soon wore off: But the Queen (who was *Anne* Dutches of *Bretagne*) took it more to heart than perhaps any other Woman would have done, and it sat longer upon her; and I am afraid, that besides the natural Affliction of Mothers upon the Loss of their Children, her Mind misgave her, and she was apprehensive that some greater Misfortune would happen to her. The King (as I said before) having weather'd it himself, had a great Desire to give the Queen some Diversion at a Ball of Young Gentlemen, which the King had appointed; among the rest of the Dancers the Duke of *Orleans* was one, who was at that time about 34 Years old; but he behav'd himself so, that it was visible to all the Court he rejoic'd at the *Dauphin's* Death, as being (after him) next Heir to the Crown. Upon which the King and he never spoke to one another for a long time after. The *Dauphin* was about three Years old

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(a) His Name was *Charles Orleans*, and the whole Ceremony of his Christening, which was in 1492, is describ'd at large in the second Volume of the *French Cere-monial*, pag. 138, & 139.

Charles  
VIII. jea-  
lous of his  
Son, tho'  
but three  
Years old.

Three  
Kings of  
France  
successively  
jealous of  
their Chil-  
dren.

when he dy'd, yet very handsom, forward, and undaunted, and not concern'd at those things wherewith our Children are frightened; for which reason his Father was the sooner recover'd, as being fearful already he should have grown considerably too fast, and his Courage encreasing with his Years, that he would have entrench'd upon his Power and Authority; for the King was not excellent either in Person or Understanding, but of the mildest and best Disposition in the World. By this Example we may see to what Miseries great Kings and Princes, who grow jealous of their own Children, are subject. His Father *Lewis XI.* a Wise and Virtuous Prince, was yet fearful of *Charles VIII.* but he provided prudently against the worst, and left him the Crown when he was but fourteen Years old. *Lewis XI.* had been no less terrible to his Father *Charles VII.* for at the Age of thirteen Years he was in Arms, and confederated against him with certain of the Nobility, upon some Court-Quarrels, and Exceptions against the Government; (and this *K. Lewis* has often told me himself) yet these Troubles lasted not long: But when he came to Man's Estate, he had great Controversy with his Father *Charles VII.* retir'd into *Dauphine*, and from thence into *Flanders*, leaving *Dauphine* to his Father, as has been observ'd at the Beginning of these *Memoirs*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI.* No Creature is exempt from Adversity, every Man eats his Bread in Pain and Sorrow: God Almighty promis'd it to our first Parents, and he has perform'd it very punctually ever since to all People. Yet there are Degrees and Distinctions of Sorrow, and the Troubles and Vexations of the Mind are greater than those of the Body; the Anxiety of the Wife is of one sort, and that of



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1495.

Great Per-  
sons un-  
happy as  
well as  
little ones.

the Fool of another, but that of the Fools is the greater of the two (tho' some are of a contrary Opinion) because they are less capable of Comfort. The poor People, who labour, drudge and sweat to maintain themselves and their Children, and pay their Taxes and Subsidies to their Princes, would have but little Comfort in this World if Princes and great Lords were sensible of nothing but Pleasure, and they of nothing but Sorrow. But the thing is quite otherwise; for should I endeavour to give an Account of the Passions and Disorders in which (for these 30 Years) I have seen several Persons of Quality of both Sexes, it would swell to a Volume. I do not mean such Persons as *Boccace* mentions in his Book, but such as raise the Envy of all People, by their Riches, Health, and Prosperity. Those who have not conversed with them so much as I have done, believe the Condition of great Persons to be the happiest in the World; but I have seen their Troubles and Disquiets, and upon such trifling Occasions, as Persons at a distance could hardly believe; an idle Apprehension or an extravagant Report disturbs them extremely; and this is the secret Distemper that reigns in the Courts of great Princes, from whence many Mischiefs do arise to the Sovereign, his Ministers and Subjects, and is so great a Shortner of Life, that there is scarce a King of *France* (since the Time of *Charlemaign*) who liv'd to be 60 Years old. Upon this bare Suspicion, when *Lewis XI.* came to be about that Age, being sick of that Disease, he concluded himself gone. His Father *Charles VII.* who had done so many memorable things in *France*, took a Fancy that his Courtiers had a design to poison him, and upon that account eat nothing. *Charles VI.* had his Jealousies too, and became craz'd

craz'd in his Understanding, and all upon Report. Certainly Princes are guilty of a great Error in not examining, or suffering other People to examine such Tales as concern them, tho' perhaps of themselves of no great Importance; it would keep them from being so frequent, especially if they brought them Face to Face, and confronted the Accused with the Informer; by that means nothing would be reported but what was true. But there are some Princes so stupid as to engage and swear to the Accusers they will never discover them; and these are they who are subject to those Anguishes and Torments of Mind which I speak of, and do many times abhor and injure the best Ministers they have, upon the bare Reports and Calumnies of evil-minded and designing People, by which means they occasion great Mischiefs and Disquiets to their Subjects.

A. D.

1496.

*Excellent Advice for Princes, to prevent their being impos'd on.*

C H A P. XIV.

*Of the King's receiving the News of the Loss of the Castle of Naples; the selling of the Towns belonging to the Florence to several Persons; the Treaty of Atella in Apuglia, much to the Prejudice of the French; and the Death of Ferrand King of Naples.*

**T**HE Death of the Dauphin (only Son to Charles VIII.) happen'd about the beginning of the Year 1496, and was the greatest Loss that happened or could possibly happen to the King, for he had never any Child afterwards that lived. But this Misfortune came not alone, at the same time he received Advice that the Castle

*Misfortunes seldom come alone.*

A. D.

1496.



Castle of *Naples* was surrender'd by those whom the Lord *de Montpensier* had left in it, being forced to it by *Famine*, and for the *Safety* of their Hostages, who were delivered into the Enemy's Hands by the Lord *de Montpensier*. The Hostages Names were *Monsieur d'Alegre*, one of the Sons of *de la Marche d'Ardaine*, one called *de la Capelle a Loudonnois*, and *John Roquebertin* a *Catalonian*. Those who were in the Castle were sent back again by Sea. After this another Accident befel him, and that was, one *Entragues*, who was Governor of the Citadel of *Pisa* (which was strong, and commanded the whole Town) delivered it up to the *Pisans*, which was contrary to the King's Oath, for he had sworn twice to the *Florentines* to deliver the said Citadel to them, and other Places, as *Sarzana*, *Sarzanella*, *Pietra Sancta*, *Librefactò*, and *Motron*, which the *Florentines* had lent the King in his Necessities, at his first coming into *Italy*, and had given him sixscore thousand Ducats, of which there were not abve 30000 in Arrear when he returned into *France*, as has been mentioned in another place. In short, all these Places were sold, the *Genoese* bought *Sarzana* and *Sarzanella*, and they were sold by the Bastard of *St. Paul*. *Monsieur Entragues* sold *Pietra Sancta* to the Citizens of *Lucca*, and *Librefactò* to the *Venetians*, to the great Dishonour of the King and his Subjects, and to the Detriment (and I may say Loss) of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The first Oath King *Charles VIII.* took for the Restitution of those Places was at *Florence*, upon the high Altar in the great Church of *St. John*. The second was at *Asti* in his Return, where they furnished him in his Extremity with 30000 Ducats more, upon condition that if *Pisa* was surrender'd to them, the



the King should be discharged of the said Sum; all his Jewels and Pawns were to be restored, and they were to lend him threescore thousand more, to be paid down in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to those whom his Majesty had appointed to manage his Affairs there, and to maintain at their Charge 300 Horse for the Service of our King in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which were to continue there during the whole Expedition; but upon the selling of *Pisa* and the rest of the Towns all was quash'd, and the King obliged to re-pay the 30000 Ducats which the *Florentines* had lent him, and all this by the Disobedience and Whisperings of some Persons about the King, who had given private Encouragement to *Entragues* in the Business.

About the same time, and in the beginning of the Year 1496, the Lord *de Montpensier*, the Lord *Virgil Ursini*, Signior *Camillo Vitelli*, and the rest of the *French* Officers, seeing all lost, took the Field, and made themselves Masters of several small Towns; upon which King *Ferrand*, the Son of *Alphonso* (who was turned Monk, as you have heard before) with the Marquis of *Mantua*, Brother to the Lord *Montpensier's* Lady, and Captain-General of the *Venetians*, drew out against them, and found the Lord *de Montpensier* in a Town called *Atella*, situated upon a Hill, and very commodious for the supplying it with Provisions. The Enemy immediately encamped, and fortified themselves as strongly as they could, as not daring to venture a Battel, for King *Ferrand* and the Marquis of *Mantua* had been beaten in every Engagement they fought. The *Venetians* had sent the Marquis to King *Ferrand's* Assistance, and with him a Sum of Money, but inconsiderable for the Places which

A. D. 1496. which they received as Security, for the (a) six Towns in *Apuglia* are of very great Importance, viz. *Brindisi*, *Trani*, *Gallipoli*, *Crana*, *Otranto*, and *Monopoli*, all which they had taken from us. And they valued the Service of their Forces in that Kingdom so high, that it was computed and charged upon the said Towns at 200000 Ducats, besides what they demanded for the Fortifications and other Expences in the keeping them; so that I am perswaded they never had any Intentions (b) to restore them; for it is not their Custom to part with any thing that is for their Convenience, as those Towns were, lying all upon the Gulf of *Venice*, and making them absolute Lords of it, from *Venice* to *Otranto*, which is 900 Miles compleat. The Pope indeed has some few other Towns between them, but they pay Duties to the *Venetians*, or there is no passing for them thro' the Gulf; so that it was a great Advantage to them to have those Towns in their Hands, and perhaps more than many People do imagine, for they receive from them great Quantities of Corn and Oil, which are two Commodities very beneficial and necessary for them.

The Fr.  
that were

At the Town of *Atella* above-mentioned our Troops began to mutiny, not only for Provisi-

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(a) This Passage was mightily corrupted in the Original, and instead of six Places there were but five, of which *Trani* was nam'd twice, and *Crana* for the last, which is a Town near *Trani*, according to the Map of *Italy*. *Paulus Jovius* put *Polignano* and *Mola*, for *Crana* and *Gallipoli*; but the *Italian* Translator forgets the first of these two, and for *Mola* and *Polignano*, puts only *Sypontus*, which he turns into *Manfredonia*. In short, 'tis doubtful whom we ought to follow in the Translation of this Place.

(b) The *Venetians* lost their Towns afterwards by their Defeat at *Agnadella* on the 18th of May 1509.

ons (which were but beginning to fail) but for their Pay, for there was already an Arrear due to them for above 18 Months, and they had suffered very great Hardships. The *Swiss* too were largely behind, but not altogether so much, for all the Money the Lord *de Montpensier* could raise in that Kingdom went to the Payment of those Forces, and yet they had above a Year due to them. They had plundered several little Villages, and got a considerable Booty. If the 40000 Ducats which were promised had been sent in time, or had they known they should have received it at *Florence*, this Mutiny had never happened; but now all that was transacted proceeded merely from Despair. Several of the Commanders have told me since, that if our Men had been unanimous, and would have agreed to have ventur'd a Battel, in all likelihood the Victory would have been theirs, or if they had lost it, it could not have been with the Destruction of so many as they lost by their base and dishonourable Surrender. The Lords *de Montpensier* and *Virgil Ursini* would willingly have fought, and they died in Prison, not one of their Articles being observed to them. These two Gentlemen accused the Lord *de Percy* (a Gentleman of *Auvergne*) to have been the Occasion of their not fighting; and the Truth is, the Lord *Percy* was an ill-natur'd and mutinous Person.

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left in the Kingdom of Naples mutiny.

There were two sorts of *Germans* in that Army, one was the *Swiss*, of which we had about 1500, who had been with us from the beginning of our Expedition, and they served faithfully and as well as Men could do to the very last. There was another commonly called *Lansquenets*, which is as much as to say, *Companions of the Country*, and these have a natural Antipathy

to



A. D. 1496. to the *Swiss*; they are a Collection of all the Countries upon the *Rhine*, out of *Swabia*, the *Pais de Vaux* in (c) *Semonia*, and *Gelderland*, and consisted of about 7 or 800 Men lately sent thither with two Months Advance, which was spent before they could be assembled. Seeing themselves in such Danger and Distress, they retained not that Affection to us as the *Swiss* did, but began to hold Intelligence, and by degrees revolted to the Enemy; upon which, and the Division among our Commanders, the Soldiers made a dishonourable Agreement, which King *Ferrand* swore to observe; for the Marquis of *Mantua* took great care to secure the Person of the Lord *de Montpensier* his Brother in Law.

The Fr.  
surrender  
themselves  
to Fer-  
rand King  
of Naples  
upon disho-  
nourable  
Terms.

By the said Agreement they delivered themselves up into the Hands of their Enemies, gave them all the Artillery which belonged to our King, and promised to restore all the Places which our King was possessed of in that Kingdom, as well in *Calabria*, where the Lord *d'Aubigny* commanded, as in *Abruzzo*, where the Lord *Gracian des Guerres*, besides *Cajeta* and *Tarento*. Upon which Terms King *Ferrand* was obliged to send them into *Provence* by Sea, and their Baggage with them, which was worth little or nothing. They were about 5 or 6000 Men, and King *Ferrand* caused them to be conducted to *Naples*. So ignominious an Agreement had not been made in our Times, nor did I ever read of any like it, unless it was that which (as

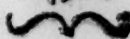
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(c) In one of the *French* Copies 'tis *Sionnie*, which is the Country called in Latin *Valesia Sedusiorum*, of which *Sedunum*, in French *Sion*, is the chief Town; or else it should be *Vaux* in *Savoy*, which our Author mentions Book V. Chap. I.

*Titus Livius* reports) was made by the two Roman Consuls with the *Samnites* (which are now supposed to be the Inhabitants of *Beneventum*) at a certain Place upon the Mountains, which was then called *Furca Caudina*; but the Romans refused to ratify and confirm it, and sent the two Consuls back Prisoners to the Enemy.

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If our Army had engag'd and been defeated, we had not lost so great a Number of Men as we did; for two Parts in three dy'd of the Famine, and Plague on Ship-board, and in the Isle of *Pricita*, whither they were sent afterwards by King *Ferrand*; among the rest, the Lord *de Montpensier* died there, some say of Poison, others of a Fever, (which I rather believe) and I believe of their whole Number there came not above 1500 back; for of the *Swiss*, which were 1300, there return'd not above 350, and those in a weak and miserable Condition. These

*The Death of Gilbert Count de Montpensier Vice-roy of Naples.*

*Swiss* were highly to be commended; for they would never bear Arms under King *Ferrand*, but chose rather to die, as many of them did in the Island of *Procita*, some of a Calenture, some of other Diseases, and some of very Hunger; for it is not to be imagin'd in what want of Victuals they were kept on Ship-board, and how long. I had a View of those which return'd, and particularly of the *Swiss*, who brought back all their Colours; but by their Looks one might see what they had suffer'd; for all of them were so very sick, that when they came ashore to take a little Air, they could not walk without being lead. The Lord *Virgil Ursini* by his Articles was to have had the Liberty to go into his own Country with his Son, and his whole Regiment; but they detain'd him, and his lawful Son with him (of which sort he had but one;) yet he had another which was a Brave Man,

*The Loyalty of the Swiss.*

call'd

A. D. 1496. call'd Signior *Carlo*; but he was a Bastard, and was kill'd by certain *Italians* which were in his company upon the Road. Had this Misfortune fallen upon any but those who had a Hand in the Treaty, it had been a very deplorable Accident.

An incestuous Marriage.

Not long after King *Ferrand* had gain'd this Honour, and newly marry'd the Daughter of his Grand-father old King *Ferrand*, which he had by the present King of *Castile's* Sister, (so that his Queen was Sister to his own Father King *Alphonso*) and a young Lady not above 13 or 14 Years old; he fell into a Hectick Fever, and dy'd in a few Days, leaving the Possession of that Kingdom to King *Frederick* (now reigning) who was his Uncle. I cannot think of this Marriage without Horror, tho' there

The Death of Ferrand King of Naples.

were several of the same nature in that Family within the Memory of Man, and that within the space of 30 Years. King *Ferrand* when he was living, and *Frederick* since his Accession to the Throne, excus'd themselves, because as they pretended the Lord *de Montpensier* had not surrender'd the Towns that were mention'd in the Articles of Agreement; neither was it in his Power, for *Cajeta* and other Places were not in his Hands; and indeed tho' he was our King's Lieutenant in that Kingdom, yet the Governors of the respective Towns were not bound to deliver them at his Command, tho' if they had, our King had been no great Loser by the Bargain; for they cost a great deal to repair and victual them afterwards, and yet lost them at last. I was present my self when Provisions were sent, once to the Castles of *Naples*, and thrice to *Cajeta*; and I think I should not mistake if I said those four Voyages cost the King above 300000 *Franks*; and yet all came to nothing.

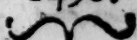
The Expence of the Expedition into Naples.

King



King Ferrand dy'd not long after that infamous Treaty of Atella in the Year 1496.

A. D.  
1496.



CHAP. XV.

*Of several Plots that were form'd (in favour of our King) by some of the Italian Princes, not only for the Recovery of Naples, but for the Destruction of the Duke of Milan; of their miscarrying for want of Supplies; and of another Design against Genoa, which came to the same ill End.*

THE King, after his Return from his Expedition to Naples, as we have already mention'd, continu'd a long time at Lions, entertaining himself with Jufts and Tournaments; and yet desirous to regain the Places in the Kingdom of Naples, whatever it cost him, but would take no pains to manage his own Affairs, or to preserve them when they were in his Possession. He had very good Intelligence in Italy, and great Designs were set on foot in his favour; which tho' in themselves dangerous and chargeable, yet could easily be manag'd by the Kingdom of France, which is very populous, and plentiful in Corn, especially Languedoc and Provence, and other Countries, out of which 'tis no difficult Task to raise Money. But if any other Prince besides the King of France should embrace the Practices of the Italians, and undertake their Assistance, it would impoverish and exhaust him; for they do nothing without Money, nor indeed are they able, unless it be the Duke of Milan, or some of the great States. But a private Governor or General, how well

A a

affected

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affected soever he may be to the House of France, its Pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, or the Dutchy of Milan, let him be as partial as he will to its Interest, yet he cannot serve that House long after the Pay begins to fail; for the poor General would be deserted by his own Soldiers, and himself utterly undone, because for the most part they have nothing wherewith to raise Men, but their Reputation and Credit; and the Soldiers are paid by the General, and the General by him who employs him in his Service: Nor do the *Italians* desire any thing more than to declare themselves of a Party. But as to the Designs which I have mention'd, they were so considerable, that they began before the Surrender of *Cajeta*, upon the Duke of *Milan's* not keeping his Promise, and continu'd for two Years after our King's Return. As for the Duke of *Milan*, he did not break his Promise so much out of Malice and Ill-nature, as through Fear; for he was jealous the King could not have so great an Addition of Power, but by the Diminution of his own; besides, he did not think our King a Prince of any Firmness or Resolution. At length it was concluded that the Duke of *Orleans* should march to *Asi* with a considerable Body of Forces; and I saw him and his Equigage ready to set out. We were secure of the Duke of *Ferrara* with 500 Men at Arms and 2000 Foot (tho' he was the Duke of *Milan's* Father-in-law;) for he join'd with us to preserve himself against the Danger he was in between the Duke and the *Venetians*, who not long since (as I said before) had taken from him the *Polesan*, and endeavour'd all they could to ruin him: Upon which account he preferr'd his own and his Childrens Safety before the Friendship of his Son-in-law; and perhaps

haps he was of opinion that his Son-in-law would come to some Agreement with the King, when he found himself in danger. Besides, by the Interest of the Duke of *Ferrara*, we had also engag'd the Marquis of *Mantua* to our Party, who had been, and was at that time General for the *Venetians*; but they were so jealous of him, and he so dissatisfy'd with them, that he quarter'd with 300 Men at Arms with his Father-in-law the Duke of *Ferrara*, tho' his Lady was Sister to the Dutcheß of *Milan*, the Duke of *Ferrara's* Daughter. Signior *John Bentivoglio* (who was Governor, and as it were Prince of *Bologna*) was to have provided 150 Men at Arms, besides the Horse and Foot which his two Sons were to have brought with them, and his Country was well seated to invade the Duke of *Milan*. The *Florentines*, who saw they were utterly undone, and were afraid they should be disposseß'd of *Pisa* and the rest of their Towns, unless they exerted themselves, and did something extraordinary to this critical Juncture of Affairs, agreed to assist us with 800 Men at Arms and 2000 Foot, and to maintain them at their own Expence; and they had six Months Pay ready in Bank. The *Urfini* and the Governor of *Rome*, who was Brother to the Cardinal of St. *Peter ad Vincula* (so often mention'd before) being both in the King's Pay, would have brought a 1000 Men at Arms; but you must know the Retinue and Equipage of their Men at Arms is not after the manner of ours; for they have no Archers, but their Pay is alike; the Pay of a Man at Arms (and he is well paid) is 100 Ducats a Year, but with Archers it is double. These Soldiers the King would have paid, but the *Florentines* were to have paid their own Forces. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Mar-



A. D. 1496. *quis of Mantua, and Bentivoglio desir'd only their Charges; for they design'd their Reward out of the Towns which they should take from the Duke of Milan; and certainly had he been suddenly invaded by the Duke of Orleans's Forces, and those who were enter'd into the Alliance against him, the Venetians, who were his Confederates, could not have been in a condition to have assisted him, under 80000 Crowns Expence before he would have been constrain'd to have submitted to the King, (who could have been able to have kept all the Italians together a long time) and if the Duke of Milan had been conquer'd, the Kingdom of Naples would have fallen of course.*

*The Duke of Orleans the Occasion of the Miscarriage of the Design that was form'd by the Princes of Italy.*

The Miscarriage of this important Design proceeded meerly from the Duke of Orleans's Inconstancy: He had Orders over Night to set out in the Morning; he had sent all his Equipage, Baggage, and whatever else belong'd to his Person, before; so that there was nothing to follow but himself. His Army, consisting of 800 French Men at Arms and 6000 Foot (among which he had 400 Swiss) lay ready at Asti, and their advanc'd Money in their Pockets; yet on a sudden he chang'd his Mind, and made two several Addresses to the King, that that Expedition might be once more debated before the Council; and it was done twice. I was present both times; the Result was, *nemine contradicente* (tho' there was always ten or twelve in Council) that he should proceed in their Expedition, because they had given their above-mention'd Friends in Italy repeated Assurances of his coming; and they had rais'd Men, and been at great Charge in expectation of him. But the Duke of Orleans, who was also present at the Debate (either by the Advice of some other Person,

Person, or through his own Unwillingness to go, on account of his Brother's Illness, and his being the next Heir to the Crown) plainly told them he would not undertake that Enterprize upon any Quarrel of his own; but as he was the King's Lieutenant, if his Majesty pleas'd to command it, he would go with all his Heart; and so the Council broke up. The next day, and several after, the *Florentine*, and the rest of the Ambassadors, press'd the King, that he would lay his Commands upon him; but the King's Answer was, that he would never send him to make War against his Inclinations. And thus was that Enterprize quash'd in a moment, to the King's great Displeasure, who had been at vast Charges, and had great hopes of revenging himself on the Duke of *Milan*, considering his own Intelligence at that time, and what he might have had by Signior *John James di Trivulce*, who was Lieutenant-General for the King; and the Duke of *Orleans* was born, and had great Interest and Alliance in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

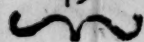
But tho' this Design miscarry'd, another reviv'd, nay two or three at a time, in *Genoa*, which is a Place very subject to Revolutions. One was contriv'd by Signior *Baptista di Campoforgoso*, a Great Man in the Faction of *Genoa*; but he was banish'd, and his Party could do nothing, nor the Family of the *Dorei* neither, who were Gentlemen, but the *Campoforgosi* were not. The *Dorei* are of the same Party with the *Campoforgosi*, but cannot be Dukes themselves, because they are Gentlemen; for no Gentleman is capable by their Laws. But this (d) *Baptista*

Another  
Design in  
Italy in  
favour of  
Charles  
VIII.

A a 3

had

(d) *Baptista Fregosa*, who is here nam'd *Campoforgoso*, inveighs bitterly against this Cardinal of *Genoa* his Uncle,

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had been Duke not long before, but was sup-  
planted by his Uncle the Cardinal of *Genoa*, who  
put the Government into the Hands of the  
Duke of *Milan*, under whom the City was go-  
vern'd by the *Adorni*, who were also no Gen-  
tlemen; yet they have been often Dukes, and  
were supported by the House of the *Spinoli*, who  
were Gentlemen too. The Nobility in *Genoa*  
make Dukes, but cannot be made so themselves.  
This Signior *Baptista* expected his whole Party  
(both in the City and abroad) would have taken  
Arms in his favour; and that the Senate should  
be chosen by the King, but the Government  
would fall into the Hands of him and his Party;  
and they did not question but to deal well  
enough with the rest. The other Design was set  
on foot by several Persons in *Savona*, who had  
address'd themselves to the Cardinal of St. *Peter*  
*ad Vincula*, assuring him they would deliver up  
the Town, provided their Liberties and Privi-  
leges might be secur'd to 'em; for it was then  
under the Jurisdiction of *Genoa*, and paid Duties  
as the rest. If he could have made himself  
Master of this Town, he would have reduc'd  
*Genoa* to great Streights, considering *Provence*  
was our King's own Country, and *Savoy* at his  
Command. Upon these Intelligences the King  
sent to Signior *John James di Trivulce* to assist  
the said *Baptista di Camposorgoso* with such Sup-  
plies as might carry him to the very Walls of  
*Genoa*, to see whether his Party would appear.  
On the other side he was press'd hard by the

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in a Book which he made concerning his memorable Acti-  
ons; and in which he accuses him of Treason, for having  
depos'd him with a Design to make his natural Son *Doge*  
of *Genoa*, of whom mention is made in the 7th. Book,  
Chap. 5.

Cardinal



Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who had obtain'd a Letter to him from the King, commanding the said *James* to furnish the Cardinal with Men enough to conduct him to *Savona*; and he gave the same Message by Word of Mouth to the Lord of *Seyvon* in *Provence*, who was the Cardinal's Friend, and would deliver it boldly. The King also sent Orders to Signior *James di Trivulce*, to contrive Matters so, as he might support both Parties, and yet act nothing against the Duke of *Milan*, or contrary to the Peace that was made with him the Year before; but these Orders were downright Contradictions. And after this manner the Affairs of Great Princes are manag'd, when they are not curious themselves, or otherwise are too hasty in commanding Letters and Messengers to be dispatch'd without mature and requisite Deliberation. In this case, if one considers what was requir'd by Signior *Baptista di Campoforgoso* and the Cardinal, we shall find that it was impossible to supply them both at a time. For to approach the Walls of *Genoa* without a considerable Body of Forces, was ridiculous and impracticable, not only by reason of the Numbers, but of the Courage of the Inhabitants; and to have supply'd the Cardinal had been to have divided his own Army into three Bodies, for Part must of necessity have remain'd with Signior *John James*; and besides the Alarm was taken, and the Duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, *Don Frederick* and the Pope, had all of them sent Forces to *Genoa* and *Savona*, as suspecting their Revolt.

Besides these two, Signior *John James Trivulce* had a third Design of his own, and that was, to have march'd directly with all his Forces against the Duke of *Milan*, and laid those Enterprizes aside; and certainly if it had been

A third Design in Italy in favour of Charles VIII.

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permitted to have pursu'd his own Scheme, he would have perform'd some great Action; for under pretence that he could not otherwise protect such as were engag'd in the Designs upon *Genoa* and *Savona*, he posted himself upon the great Road from *Alexandria* to *Genoa* (and indeed the Duke of *Milan* could send Forces no other way to molest us) and possess'd himself of two or three small Towns without any Resistance; pretending that this was no Violation of the Peace with the Duke, for he was forc'd to it of necessity; and that the King could not be said to have made War upon the Duke for endeavouring to recover *Genoa* and *Savona*, because they held of the King, and had forfeited their Allegiance. However to satisfy the Cardinal, Signior *John James di Trivulce*, sent part of his Army to *Savona*; but he found the Garrison reinforced, and his Designs defeated, and so he march'd back. He sent other Troops to Signior *Baptista*, to attempt something upon *Genoa*, and great Matters were expected from thence; but before they had march'd four Leagues, both *French* and *Swiss* grew jealous of him (tho' I think it was wrongfully) and it was well things happen'd so; for their Number being very inconsiderable, they would have expos'd themselves to great Danger, if their Party in the Town had not appear'd. Thus all their Enterprizes and Designs miscarried, and the Duke of *Milan* was become strong, who had run a great deal of Danger, if Signior *John James* had not been countermanded. Our Army march'd back, our Foot were disbanded, our small Towns restor'd, and the War was concluded, but with little advantage to the King considering what Expence he had been at in Military Preparations.

C H A P.

CH A P. XVI.

Of certain Differences that arose between Charles King of France, and Ferrand King of Castile; and the Ambassadors which were sent to both of them to accomodate the Affair.

FROM the Beginning of 1496. (the King having been four Months on this Side the Mountains) till the Year 1498. our Forces lay still, and did nothing in *Italy*: I was present all that while with his Majesty, and privy to most of his Affairs. He went from *Lions* to *Moulins*, and from *Moulins* to *Tours*, spending his Time in nothing but Jufts and Tournaments where-ever he came, without ever thinking of his Affairs in *Italy* or *France*. Those who were in greatest Reputation with him, were in great Dissention among themselves, and it could hardly be greater. Some (as the Cardinal and Seneschal) were for carrying on the War in *Italy*, because it was for their Profit and Advantage; the (a) Admiral on the other side (who before that Expedition had been the King's greatest Favourite) oppos'd it in hopes to be restor'd to his former Authority, and to supplant his Competitors; and in this Posture things stood about a Year and a half.

The supine and negligent way of living of Charles VIII.

In the mean time our King sent Ambassadors to the King and Queen of *Castile*, for his Majesty desir'd to be at Peace with them, because they were very powerful both at Sea and Land; and tho' at Land they had done no extraordina-

(a) The Lord de Graville mention'd before, page. 689.



A. D. 1496. ry matter, yet by Sea they had given King Fer-  
 rand and Frederick both very considerable Assist-  
 ance; for the Island of Sicily is distant from Rhe-  
 gio and Calabria but a League and a half. (a)  
 Some are of opinion it was formerly join'd to  
 the Continent, and in process of time separated  
 from it by the Sea. It is now call'd the Straights  
 of Messina. From this Island of Sicily, which  
 belong'd to the King and Queen of Castile, con-  
 siderable Supplies were sent to Naples, as well  
 in Caravels from Spain, as in Men from the  
 Island, out of which several Men at Arms pass'd  
 the Sea into Calabria, with a good Number of  
 Spanish Genets, where they made War against  
 those who appear'd for our King. Their Fleet  
 was continually join'd with the Confederates,  
 and when they were united, the King was too  
 weak for them at Sea; otherwise the King of  
 Castile had not done him much Mischief. 'Tis  
 true a good Body of his Horse made an Inroad  
 into Languedoc, plunder'd some few Towns, and  
 quarter'd up and down for 3 or 4 Days; but  
 that was all, and no considerable Damage done.

(a) Virgil was also of this Opinion, as appears by the  
 following Verses:

*Ast, ubi digressum Sicula te admovent ora  
 Ventus, & angustae rarefcent lustra pelori,  
 Lava tibi tellus, & longo lava petantur  
 Equora circuitu: dextrum fuge litus & undas.  
 Hec loca, vi quondam & vasta convulsa ruina  
 (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)  
 Dissiluisse ferant: cum protinus utraque tellus  
 Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis  
 Hesperium Siculo latus absceidit: arvaque & urbes  
 Littore diductas, angusto interluit aestu.*

Virg. Æneid. III. V. 419, &c.

(b) Mon-

(b) Monsieur de St. Andre (a Bourbonnois) being then upon the Frontier with some Troops belonging to the Duke of Bourbon, who was Governor of Languedoc, attempted to take Sausses, a small Town in Roussillon, from whence the Enemy made all his Excursions about two Years before; for the King had restor'd the said Roussillon to them, in which Province there is the Territory of Perpignan, and this Sausses in the Middle of it. The Design was great, because the Town was strongly garison'd with a Detachment of the King of Castile's Guards, and within a League lay their whole Army more numerous than ours, and ready to engage us. However Monsieur de St. Andre manag'd his Affairs so prudently, and with so much Secrecy, that in Ten Hours time he took the Town (which I have seen) by Assault, and in it there were 30 or 40 Spanish Gentlemen of good Quality slain, and among them the Arch-Bishop of St. James's Son, besides 3 or 400 more. They did not suppose we should have been Masters of it so soon, because they knew not the Goodness of our Cannon, which certainly are the finest and the best in Europe.

No other but this Action happen'd between these two Kings, which was much to the Dishonour of the King of Castile, who had such a numerous Army in the Field. But when God Almighty is pleas'd to chastise a Nation for their Sins, he begins with smaller and more supportable Afflictions; for the King and Queen of Castile were visited afterwards with great Mor-

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(b) John d'Albon, Son of Giles Lord of St. Andre and Anne de Semur, and Father of James d'Albon Marquis of Fronsac, Lord of St. Andre, and Marshal of France.

tifications,

A. D.  
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tifications, and so were we too. The King and Queen of *Castile* acted very imprudently, and were ill advis'd to forswear themselves to our Master, especially after he had been so kind as to restore *Roussillon*, which had cost his Father so much to fortify and defend, and had been mortgag'd to him for 300000 Crowns, all which were remitted to hinder him from disturbing our King in his intended Conquest of *Naples*. Besides which, they renew'd the ancient Alliances with not only King and King, Kingdom and Kingdom, but the individual Subjects on both Sides were mutually oblig'd; and they promis'd not to interrupt us in our Conquest, nor to marry any of their Daughters either with the House of *Naples*, *England*, or *Flanders*; which Offer came first from themselves, and was made by one Friar *John de Mauleon* on the part of the Queen of *Castile*. Yet as soon as they saw the War begun, and the King at *Rome*, they sent their Ambassadors to all the neighbouring Princes to make an Alliance against our King; and particularly to *Venice*, where I was resident at that time; and there the League (which I have spoken of so much) was made between the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the State of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, and immediately they began to act offensively against our King, and to declare that their former Obligation became void, and they were no longer bound to observe it, especially that Article about the Marriage of their Daughters, (of which they had four, and but one Son) tho' they first made that Offer of themselves, as you have already heard.

But to proceed in my History. After the Wars in *Italy* were over, and the King had nothing left in the Kingdom of *Naples* but *Cajeta*, which he lost afterwards; after the Pretensions

in



in *Roussillon* were adjusted, and every Prince was in possession of what was his own, they sent a Gentleman to King *Charles*, and with him certain Monks of *Montferrat*, it being the Custom of *Spain* to manage all their Negotiations by such People, either out of Hypocrisy and Pretence of Religion, or the Frugality of their Expence; for, as I said before, the Treaty about *Roussillon* was manag'd by Friar *John de Mauleon*. These Ambassadors at their first Audience besought the King that he would forget the Injury that was done him by the King and Queen of *Castile* (the King and Queen are always mention'd together, because *Castile* came by her, and she had there the principal Authority, it having been a Marriage of more than ordinary Honour for them.) Then they began to propose a Truce, in which their whole League was to be comprehended, and our King to keep *Cajeta* in his Possession, and what other Places were then in his Hands in the Kingdom of *Naples*; that during the Truce his Majesty might erect what Magazines in them he pleased, and that a Time and Place should be appointed, to which Ambassadors from all the Parties of the League (or as many as desired it) should be sent to conclude a final Peace; after which the King and Queen of *Spain* intended to pursue the Conquest of *Granada*, and having finished that, to pass over into *Africa* against the King of *Fez*, whose Kingdom reaches to the Coasts on the other side of that Sea. However some will say they never designed it, but were resolved to sit down with the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which indeed was a glorious Action, and the fairest Acquisition which had been gained, not only in our Times, but by all their Predecessors; and I wish for their own

sakes

Negotiations in Spain generally managed by Priests.

Sham Proposals for a general Peace, only to amuse and deceive Charles VIII.

A. D.  
1496.

sakes they had rested there, and kept their Promise with our King. With these Ambassadors of theirs our King sent back the Lord of *Clerieux* in *Dauphine*, and endeavour'd to conclude either a separate Peace or a Truce with them, without comprehending any of the rest of the Confederates; but if the King had accepted their Overture he had preserved *Cajeta*, which might have been sufficient for the Recovery of the whole Kingdom, considering what Friends his Majesty had in it. When the Lord *de Clerieux* returned he brought new Propositions, for *Cajeta* was lost before he got to *Castile*. The Proposition was, that the ancient Alliance between the two Crowns should be renewed, and that by common Consent and Expence they should endeavour the Conquest of *Italy*, and that both the Kings should be personally present in that Expedition; but first they insisted that a general Truce might be concluded, the whole League be comprehended, and a Day and Place appointed in *Piedmont*, to which each of them might send their Ambassadors, being desirous (as they pretended) to acquit themselves honourably towards their Confederates. But all this Overture in my Opinion (and I have understood as much since) was but an Artifice to gain Time, and suffer King *Ferrand* to breathe a little, and recruit whilst he liv'd, and King *Frederick* since his Decease. However they could have been contented to have had that Kingdom to themselves, and their Title was better than theirs who possessed it; but the King's Title (which was the House of *Anjou's*) was better than both of them; yet considering the Nature of the Country, and the People which inhabit it, I think he has best Right to it that can keep Possession of it, so strangely are they

*The House  
of Anjou  
a better  
Right to  
the King-  
dom of  
Naples  
than that  
of Arra-  
gon.*



they inclined to Revolutions. After this the King sent *Clerieux* back again into *Spain*, and with him one Monsieur *Michael de Gramont*, with certain new Proposals. This Lord *de Clerieux* had some little Affection for the House of *Aragon*, and hoped to have the Marquisate of *Cotrone* in *Calabria*, which the King of *Spain* retained of the last Conquest which he made in that Province. *Clerieux* pretended it was his, for he is an honest sincere Man, but something too credulous, especially of such Persons. The second time he return'd he brought back with him another Ambassador from them, and the Lord *de Clerieux* reported that the King and Queen of *Castile* would be contented to take *Calabria* (which is the Part of *Italy* that lies next *Sicily*) for their whole Interest in that Kingdom, and that our King should have the rest; he offered likewise that the King of *Castile* should assist in Person in this intended Expedition, and contribute as much towards paying the Army as our King; and indeed he was at that time Master of 4 or 5 fortified Towns in *Calabria*, and among the rest *Cotrone*, which is not only a strong, but beautiful City. I was present when the Ambassador made his Report, and most were of opinion he was imposed upon, and that it would be necessary to send another Ambassador of greater Cunning and Sagacity, to search more narrowly into the Affair. Upon which the Lord *du Bouchage* was joined in the same Embassy. He was a Person of great Wisdom and Penetration in State Affairs, had enjoyed Places of great Trust and Honour in the late King's Reign, and was still highly valued and esteemed by his Son. The Spanish Ambassador who came along with the Lord *de Clerieux* would



A. D. 1496. would never confirm what he had said, only he told us, that he did believe Monsieur *de Clerieux* would not have made that Report, if the King and Queen of *Castile* had not said it; which gave us the more suspicion it was a Trick; and besides, no-body could believe the King of *Spain* would go thither in Person, or that he would or indeed could bear an equal Share with our Master,

As soon as the Lord *du Bouchage*, Monsieur *de Clerieux*, Michael *de Gramont*, and the rest of our Ambassadors, were arrived at the Court of the King and Queen of *Castile*, they ordered them to be lodged in Apartments where none of their Subjects could converse with them, appointed Persons to have an eye over them, and they were admitted to three private Audiences of the King and Queen. When the Lord *du Bouchage* had acquainted them with what the Lord *de Clerieux* had reported to his Master, and Michael *de Gramont* had confirmed it, they answered, that they might have said some such thing by way of Discourse, but not otherwise, yet they would readily engage themselves in any Peace that should be for our Master's Honour and Advantage. The Lord *de Clerieux* was very uneasy, and much displeased at their Answer, (and he had reason) and justified to their Faces in the Presence of the Lord *du Bouchage*, that they had given it in Commission. However the Lord *du Bouchage* and the other Ambassadors concluded a Truce for two Months, without comprehending the League; but the Princes who married their Daughters, and their Fathers in Law were comprehended, as the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *England* (for the Prince of *Wales* was but very young at that time.) The King

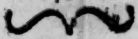
King and Queen of *Castile* had (a) four Daughters, the eldest was a Widow, and married to the King of *Portugal* who died last, having broke his Neck in her sight as he was passing a Career upon a *Genet* before her, three Months after their Marriage; and they had another unmarried. As soon as the Lord *Bouchage* was arrived, and had informed the King of his Reception at the *Spanish* Court, his Majesty was sensible he had acted wisely in sending him, for now he was assured of what he but suspected before, and that was of the Credulity of the Lord de *Clerieux*. The Lord *du Bouchage* told him moreover, that all he could obtain was that Truce, which however his Majesty had liberty either to accept or reject. The King confirm'd it, and sure he did wisely, for it broke that Confederacy which had given so much Disturbance to his Affairs, and which hitherto he could not effect, tho' he had tried all ways possible to dissolve it. The Lord *du Bouchage* also acquainted his Majesty, that they would send Ambassadors after him with Power to conclude a Peace; and this the King and Queen of *Castile* assured him of when he had his Audience of Leave. He told our King also, that at his coming away he left

A Truce  
concluded  
between  
Charles  
VIII. and  
the King  
of *Castile*.

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(a) Their eldest Daughter, whose Name was *Isabella*, was married at first to *Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, Son of *John II.* King of *Portugal*, who broke his Neck, as our Author here mentions; and afterwards to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, but died in Child-bed. The second, whose Name was *Jane*, was married to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, Son and Heir to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*. *Catharine*, who was the third, was married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry VII.* King of *England*. And the fourth, whose Name was *Margaret*, and who according to our Author was unmarried at that time, was married to the same *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, her eldest Sister's Husband.

A. D. their only Son the Prince of Castile very dangerously ill.  
1496.



## C H A P. XVII.

*A Digression concerning the Misfortunes which happened to the House of Castile in the Author's Time.*

THE Lord *du Bouchage*, 10 or 12 Days after his Return into *France*, received Letters from an Herald, which he had left behind to wait on the Ambassadors which were to come from thence. The Letters were to this purpose, that he should not wonder at their deferring the Embassy, because it was done upon the Account of the Death of the Prince of *Castile* (as they called him) who was lately dead, to the unspeakable Grief of the King and Queen, but especially of the Queen, who was more like to die than to live; and certainly I never heard of so solemn and so universal a Mourning for any Prince in *Europe*. I have since been informed by Ambassadors, that all the Tradesmen put themselves into a coarse kind of Black, and shut up their Shops for 40 Days together; the Nobility and Gentry covered their Mules with black Cloth down to their very Knees, and all over their Body and Heads, so that there was nothing of them to be seen but their Ears; and set up black Banners upon all the Gates of the City. When the Lady *Margaret* (Daughter to the King of the (a) *Romans*, Sister to the (b)

*A general Mourning in Spain for the Death of the Prince of Castile.*

(a) *Maximilian I.* afterwards Emperor. (b) *Philip I.* Arch-duke of *Austria* and King of *Castile* in Right of his Wife *Jane*, Daughter and Heiress of the King of *Castile*.



Arch-duke of *Austria*, and Wife to the said Prince) was informed of the News of his death she miscarried of a Daughter (being 6 Months gone with Child) which was born dead. What a terrible Blow must this be to a Family, which had known nothing before but Felicity and Renown, and had a larger Territory (I mean by Succession) than any other Family in Christendom? and besides the late Acquisition of *Granada*, they had forced the greatest Monarch in *Europe* out of *Italy*, and defeated his Enterprize, which was look'd upon to be a mighty Action even by the Pope himself, who under pretence of the Conquest of *Granada*, would have taken away the Title of *Most Christian* from the King of *France*, and conferred it on the King of *Castile*, to whom several Briefs were addressed with that Title superscrib'd; but because some of the Cardinals oppos'd it, he gave them another, which was, *The most Catholick*, by which Title he is called now, and I believe he will be stiled so for ever at *Rome*. What a sad and surprizing Turn must this Accident be? at a time when they had reduced their Kingdom to Obedience, regulated the Laws, settled the Administration of Justice, and were so well and happy in their own Persons, as if God and Man had conspired to advance their Power and Honour above all the rest of the Princes in *Europe*.

*The Title of Most Catholick given to the King of Castile by Pope Alexander VI.*

Nor was this their only Affliction; their eldest Daughter (the dearest thing to them in the World after the death of her Brother) was forced to leave them, having some few Days before been married to *Emanuel* the young King of *Portugal*. He was then indeed but Prince of *Portugal*; but the Crown of *Portugal* fell to him by the death of the last King of *Portugal*, who most barbarously caused the Head of his Father

A. D. 1496. in Law to be cut off, killed his Brother with his own Hand (who was elder Brother to the King that now reigns in *Portugal*) kept this present King in perpetual Fear, and killed his own Brother before his Wife's Face, as they were sitting at Dinner, to make way for one of his Bastards to be King. After which Cruelties he lived in continual Fear and Suspicion, and not long after his only (legitimate) Son broke his Neck off his Mule, as you have heard, who was the first Husband to the Lady of whom I am now speaking, and who is Queen of *Portugal* at present, into which Kingdom she has been twice married, and by Report is one of the wisest and most honourable Persons in the World. But to continue our Relation of the miserable Accidents which in a short Space befel the King and Queen of *Castile*, who had liv'd in so much Glory and Felicity to the 50th Year of their Age, or more. You must know they had married their eldest Daughter to the King of *Portugal*, that all *Spain* might be in Peace; for they were entirely possessed of all the Provinces, except the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which they governed as they pleased, and of which they had also four of the strongest Towns. Secondly, to adjust and compose the Difference about her Dower and Marriage-Portion: And thirdly, for the Benefit and Advantage of some of the Grandees of *Portugal*, who were in the King of *Castile's* Interest; for by this Match those Lords who were banished that Country upon the death of the two Princes above-mentioned, and had their Estates confiscated (which continued to that Day, tho' the Crime of which they were accused was only endeavouring to set this King up who now reigns) had Estates given them in *Castile*; and their Lands in *Portugal*, which were forfeited

The Cru-  
elty of  
John II.  
King of  
*Portugal*.

forfeited by the Attainder, were assigned to the Queen's Use. And yet for all these Considerations the King and Queen of *Castile* were extremely troubled at this Match; for you must understand there is no Nation in *Europe* that the *Spaniards* abhor and deride more than they do the *Portuguese*. So that it was no small Mortification to them that they had married their Daughter to a Person that was not pleasing to the *Castilians*, and the rest of their Subjects, and had it been to do again, it would never have been done; which must needs be a great Affliction to them, and the greater, because she must leave them. But having master'd their Passion as well as they could, they conducted 'em thro' all the chief Cities in that Kingdom, caused the King of *Portugal* to be received as their Prince, his Queen as Princess, and declared them their Successors after their Decease. But to finish all, and consummate their Sorrows, this young Lady, whom they loved and valued so highly, died in Child-bed of a Son about a Month since, and it is now *October*, 1498. Tho' the Queen died, yet her Son lived, and is called (c) *Emanuel*; yet I am informed their Affliction is so great, they would have given God Thanks to have taken them with their Daughter.

A. D.

1496.

The natural Antipathy between the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

A. D.

1498.

All these great Misfortunes happen'd in three Months space; nor were we without our Share of Afflictions; for before the death of the above-mentioned Princess, we in this Kingdom were chastised and afflicted by the death of *Charles VIII.* (of whom I have spoken so much)

(c) Other Authors say his Name was *Michael*; but he died young, and the Crown of *Spain* descended to *Jane* the second Daughter, who was Wife to *Philip Duke of Austria*, and Mother to *Charles V.*



A. D.  
1498.

and who died after the manner as you shall hear hereafter; as if God had been offended with both these illustrious Families, and would not suffer the one to triumph over the other. No such Revolution happens in a Kingdom, but it is generally attended with very sad Consequences, and tho' possibly some may be Gainers, yet there will be a hundred Losers to one of them, besides the changing of a Man's whole Life and Conversation; for that which pleases one King will hardly be agreeable to another. And (as I have said in another place) he that reflects upon the sudden and severe Chastisements which God has inflicted upon the great Princes of *Europe* within these 30 Years, shall find more and greater than in 200 Years before, including *France, Castile, Portugal, England, the Kingdom of Naples, Flanders, and Bretagne*; and if any should attempt to give a particular Account of all the Fates and Misfortunes which I have known (and perhaps most of the Persons on whom they fell) it would swell into a vast Volume, and astonish the whole World, tho' it contained no more than the Occurrences of 10 Years past. By these Afflictions the Power of God ought to be acknowledged and remembered; for the Troubles which he lays upon Princes are heavier, more grievous, and more lasting than those he lays upon inferior Persons. So that in short (upon a full and just Consideration of all) the Lives of Princes are as much subject to Afflictions and Anxiety of Mind as other Mens, at least if they regard their own Affairs themselves, and endeavour to prevent such Miseries from falling upon them as they see have ruin'd their neighbouring Princes. 'Tis true they punish their Subjects at their Pleasure, and God does the same by them; for besides him

*The Au-  
thor's  
wrong No-  
tion of  
Kings.*

him there is none above them. But that Kingdom is most happy whose King fears God, and manages his own Affairs.

A. D.

1498.

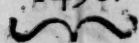
Thus have you seen in few Words the Misfortunes which beset these two potent Kingdoms, and all within the space of three Months, which not long before were so incensed one against the other, so busy to subvert one another, and so intent upon their Interest and Advancement, that nothing which they enjoyed was sufficient to satisfy their boundless Ambition. I confess (as I said before) no Change happens in Government but some People are the better for it, yet when a Prince dies suddenly, the first News of his death is terrible to all.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Of the magnificent Building which King Charles began not long before his Death; his good Inclination to reform the Church, the Laws, the Treasury, and himself; and of his dying suddenly in this Resolution in his Castle at Amboise.*

I Have now done with the Affairs of Italy and Spain, and shall return to speak of our own Misfortunes in France (at which some People might possibly rejoice, especially if they gained any thing by them) and give you an Account of the Death of Charles VIII. our King, who died suddenly at his Castle of Amboise, where he began the most august and magnificent Building that any Prince had undertaken for 100 Years before, both in the Town and the Castle; and this appears by the remaining

*The rebuilding of the Castle of Amboise, begun by Charles VIII. a little before his death,*

A. D.  
1498.

The De-  
signs of  
Charles  
VIII. a lit-  
tle before  
his death.

Towers, to the top of which one may ride on Horseback. As to his Building in the Town, the Design was admirable, the Model lofty, and would have required a great deal of Time. He had brought his Artificers (as his Carvers, Painters, and such) from *Italy*, so that the whole Fabrick seem'd the Enterprize of a young Prince who thought nothing of dying so soon; for he collected whatever was commended to him either in *France*, *Italy*, or *Flanders*. Besides this great Work, his Mind was so bent upon another Expedition into *Italy*, being sensible he had committed many great Errors in his first; he spoke often of them, and resolv'd if ever he recovered what he had lost in that Country, he would keep it better than he had done, and having a Party and Intelligence in all Places, he thought it not impossible but he might return and recover the Kingdom of *Naples*: To which purpose he resolv'd to send thither a Body of 1500 *Italian* Men at Arms under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantua*, the *Ursini*, the *Vitelli*, and the Governor of *Rome*, Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*; the Lord d' *Aubigny*, who had done such Wonders in *Calabria*, was to march into the Territories of the *Florentines*, who were to bear half the Charges for six Months. His first Attempt was to have been upon *Pisa*, or the adjacent Towns, and then joining with the rest, to march in one Body into the Kingdom of *Naples*, from whence he was sollicitated continually. Pope *Alexander VI.* who now reigns, being offended with the *Venetians*, endeavour'd to come into the Alliance, and had private Intrigues with him by an Agent that lay *incognito*, whom I privately conveyed into the King's Chamber not long before his Death. The *Venetians* were ready to join with  
us



A. D.  
1498.

us against the Duke of *Milan*, and our Negotiations with *Spain* were as you have heard; the King of the *Romans* desired nothing so earnestly as the Friendship of our King, and that they two might manage their own Affairs in *Italy* by themselves: This King of the *Romans* was call'd *Maximilian*, a mortal Enemy to the *Venetians*, because they had taken and kept several Places belonging to the House of *Austria*, of which he was next Heir, and to the Empire besides.

The King had also resolved with himself to live a more strict and religious Life than he had formerly done, to regulate the Laws, to reform the Church, and so to rectify his Revenue that he would not raise above 1200000 Franks upon his Subjects by way of Tax, which was the Sum given him by the three Estates at their Convention at *Tours*, upon his Accession to the Throne. He intended the said Sum should be employ'd in the Defence of the Kingdom, and for himself he would live upon his Crown Lands as his Predecessors had done before him, which he might easily have done if it had been well managed, for his Revenue (comprehending his Duties and Customs) came to above a Million a Year. Had he done as he resolved, it would have been a great Ease to the People, who pay now above two Millions and a half. He was very earnest likewise to have reformed the Order of *St. Benedict*, and others. He got good Preachers about him, and was a constant Hearer of them. He would fain have ordered it so that a Bishop should have enjoyed but one Bishoprick, a Cardinal two, and both be obliged to be resident upon their Benefices; but he would have found it a difficult Task to have persuaded the Clergy to it. He gave Alms liberally to the Poor not many Days before his Death, as I was since in-

*His pious  
and just  
Resolu-  
tions.*

formed

A. D.  
1498.

*A publick  
Court e-  
rected by  
Charles  
VIII. to  
redress the  
Grievan-  
ces of the  
Poor.*

formed by his Confessor the Bishop of *Angiers*, who is a very eminent Prelate. He had erected also a Place for publick Audience, where he heard and dispatch'd several Causes, especially for the Poor; in which Place I saw him two Hours together not above a Week before he died, after which time I never saw him again. Matters of great moment were not dispatch'd there, but he had set up that Court to keep People in awe, especially his Officers, some of which he suspended for Bribery and Corruption.

The King being in great Glory in relation to this World, and in a good Mind as to God, on the 7th of *April*, 1498. being *Palm-Sunday* Eve, took his Queen (*Anne of Bretagne*) by the Hand, and led her out of her Chamber to a Place where she had never been before, to see them play at Ball in the Castle-ditch. They entred together into a Gallery call'd *la Galerie Haquelebac*, upon the Account of its being formerly kept by one *Haquelebac*. It was the nastiest Place about the Castle, broken down at the Entrance, and every body piss'd in it that would: The King was no tall Man, yet he knock'd his Head as he went in. He spent some time in looking upon the Gamesters, and talk'd freely with every body: I was not there my self (for I was gone to my Country-seat about a Week before) but his Confessor the Bishop of *Angiers*, and the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, who were then about him, told me what I write. The last Expression he us'd whilst he was in Health was, that he hop'd never to commit a mortal Sin again, nor a venial if he could help it; and with those Words in his Mouth he fell down backwards, and lost his Speech. It was about two in the Afternoon when

when he fell, and he lay till eleven a Clock at Night. Thrice he recover'd his Speech, but he quickly lost it again, as his Confessor told me, who had confess'd him twice that Week, one of course, and the other upon occasion of his Touching for the *King's-Evil*. Every one went into the Gallery that pleased. He was laid upon a coarse Bed at first, and he never went off it till he died, which was 9 Hours after. The Confessor told me, that every time he recovered his Speech he called out upon God, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, St. *Claude*, and St. *Blaise*, to assist him. And thus died that great and powerful Monarch in a sordid and filthy Place, tho' he had so many magnificent Palaces of his own, and was building another more stately than any of them, yet he died in a Chamber much unsuitable to himself. How plain then and natural is it from these two Examples for us to acknowledge the Power and Omnipotence of God, that our Life is but a Span and a Trifle, tho' we are so greedy and ambitious after the Riches of this World, and that a Prince has his Fate as well as a Peasant.

*The Death  
of Charles  
VIII.  
King of  
France.*

*A just and  
Christian-  
like Re-  
flection.*

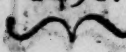
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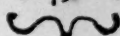
*Of the burning Friar Jerome at Florence by the Malice and Sollicitation of the Pope, and several Venetians and Florentines who were his Enemies.*

IN my Relation of the Affairs of *Italy* I have mentioned a *Jacobin* Friar, who lived at *Florence* for the space of 15 Years, was very remarkable for the Sanctity of his Life, and whom I saw and conversed with in the Year 1495. His Name

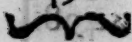


A. D.  
1498.

 Name was *Jerome*, and he had foretold several things which afterward came to pass. He affirm'd the King should make another Voyage into *Italy*, declaring it publickly in his Sermons, and pretending he had both that and other things by Revelation from God, by whom he pronounced our King to be chosen to reform the Church by Force, and chastise the Insolence of Tyrants. But his pretending to Revelation created him many Enemies, made him incur the Displeasure of the Pope, and gained him Ill-will from several in *Florence*: His Life and his Discourse (as far as could be discovered) were the severest and most holy in the World, declaiming perpetually against Sin, and making many Profelytes in that City. In the same Year 1498, and within 4 or 5 Days after the Death of King *Charles VIII.* died this *Jacobin* also; which I mention the rather, because he had always publickly asserted that the King should return again into *Italy*, to accomplish the Commission which God had given him for the reforming of the Church by the Sword, and the Expulsion of the Tyrants of that Country; and that in case the King refused or neglected it, God would punish him for it severely; all which former Sermons, and those he preach'd at this time, he caused to be printed, and they are to be seen at this day. His Threats to the King of God's severe Anger if he returned not into *Italy*, he wrote several times to his Majesty a little before his Death; and he told me as much at my Return out of *Italy*, assuring me that Sentence was pronounced in Heaven against the King, provided he refused to observe what God had commanded, and did not keep his Soldiers from plundering. About the time of the King's Death there were great Divisions among the *Florentines*.



*Florentines*. Some expected the King's Return, and very earnestly desired it, upon Confidence in Friar *Jerome's* Assurance, and in that Confidence they exhausted and ruined themselves in their Expences for the Recovery of *Pisa*, and the rest of the Towns which they had delivered to the King; but *Pisa* was in the Possession of the *Venetians*. Some were for siding with the League, and deserting our King, and they alledged that all was but Folly and Delusion, and that Friar *Jerome* was a Heretick and a Hypocrite, and that he ought to be put into a Sack and thrown into the River; but he had Friends in the Town which protected him against that. The Pope and the Duke of *Milan* wrote often against him, assuring the *Florentines* that *Pisa* and the rest of their Towns should be restored, if they would abandon our King and punish Friar *Jerome*. It accidentally happened that at the time of the King's Death the Senate consisted of several of Friar *Jerome's* Enemies (for the Senate in that Country is changed every two Months) who suborned a *Cordelier* to quarrel with him, and to proclaim him a Heretick, and an Abuser of the People, in pretending to Revelation, and to declare publickly that there was no such thing; and to prove what he said, he challenged him to the Fire before the Senate. Friar *Jerome* had more Wit, but one of his Brethren offered to do it for him, and another of the *Cordeliers* would do as much for the other; so that a Day was appointed when they were to come to their Trial, and both of them presented themselves with all the Friars of their Orders. The *Jacobin* brought the Host in his Hand, which the Senate and *Cordeliers* insisted he should lay by; but the *Jacobin* being obstinate to the contrary, and resolved not to part with

A. D. 1498.  with it, they returned all to their Convents. The People, encouraged by Friar *Jerome's* Enemies, and authorized by the Senate, went to his Convent and fetch'd him and two more of his Brethren out, and tortured him most cruelly, killing the chief Man in the City (called *Francisco Vallori*) only for being his Friend. The Pope sent them Power and Commission to make out Process against him, and at last he and his two Brethren were burnt. His Charge consisted only of two Articles; that he created Discord in the City, and that he was an Impostor; and what he pretended by Revelation he understood by his Friends in the Council. For my own part I will neither condemn nor excuse him, nor will I say they did ill or well in putting him to death, but I am sure he foretold several things which afterwards came to pass, and which all his Friends in *Florence* could never have suggested. And as to our Master, and the Evils with which he threatned him, they happened exactly as you have heard, first the Death of the *Dauphin*, and then his own, of which I have seen Letters under his own Hand to the King.

*The burning of Friar Jerome.*

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### C H A P. XX.

*The Obsequies and Funeral of Charles VIII.  
The Coronation of his Successor Lewis XII.  
with the Genealogies of the Kings of France  
to King Lewis XII.*

*The Distemper of which Charles VIII. died.*

THE Distemper of which the King died was an Apoplexy, or a Catarrh, which the Physicians hoped would have fallen down into one of his Arms, and tho' it might have taken away





away the Use of that, they were in no fear of his Death. His Majesty had four Physicians about him, but his greatest Confidence was in him that had the least Knowledge and Experience in Physick, and by his Directions he was so entirely governed, that the other three durst not give their Judgments, tho' they saw the Indications of Death, and would have ordered him a Purge 3 or 4 Days before. All People addressed themselves to the Duke of Orleans immediately, as next Heir to the Crown; but the Gentlemen of King Charles's Bed-chamber buried him in great Pomp and Solemnity. As soon as he was dead Service was begun for his Soul, which continued Day and Night; for when the *Canons* had done the *Cordeliers* began; and when they had ended, the *Bons-hommes* or *Minimes* took it up, which was an Order of his own Foundation. He lay 8 Days at *Amboise*, part of them in a Chamber very richly furnished, and part in the Church: In short, he lay in great State, and the whole Solemnity was more costly than any of his Predecessors had been. The Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, all that belonged to his Person, and all the Officers of his Court, never stirr'd from his Corps, but waited constantly; and the Service continued till his Body was interred, which was about a Month after, and as I have been told by some of the Officers of his Exchequer, cost 45000 Franks. I came to *Amboise* two Days after his Death, went to pay my Devotions upon his Tomb, and stay'd there 5 or 6 Hours. To speak impartially, I never saw so solemn a Mourning for any Prince, nor that continued so long; and no wonder, for he had been more bountiful to his Favourites, to those Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and 10 or 12 Gentlemen of his Privy-chamber,

*The Order of Minimes instituted by Charles VIII.*

*The Expences of his Funeral.*

A. D.  
1498.*A Character of*  
Charles  
VIII.*The Author but*  
*coldly receiv'd by*  
Lewis  
XII.

vy-chamber, had treated them better, and given them greater Estates than any King had ever done before; and indeed he gave some of them too much. Besides he was the most affable and sweetest natur'd Prince in the World. I verily believe he never said that word to any Man that could in reason displease him; so that he could never have died in a better Hour to make himself memorable in History, and lamented by all that served him. I do really think I was the only Person in the whole World he was unkind to; but being sensible it was in his Youth, and not at all his own doing, I could not resent it.

Having lain one Night at *Amboise*, I went and paid my Respects to the new King, with whom I had been formerly as intimate as any other Person about the Court, and much of my Troubles and Losses were for his sake; but then all our former Acquaintance and the Service I had done him were forgotten. However he entred upon his Government with great Wisdom. He alter'd not any Pensions for that Year, tho' they were 6 Months behind. He retrench'd nothing of his Salaries, but declared that every Officer in his Kingdom should continue in the same Post he found him, which was very honourable and discreet. As soon as all things could be got ready he proceeded to his (a) Coronation, and I was there among the rest. The Peers of *France* (according to ancient Custom) were represented by these following: The Duke of *Alençon* represented the Duke of *Burgundy*; Monsieur de *Bourbon* the Duke of *Normandy*; and the Duke of *Lorraine* the Duke of *Guienne*.

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(a) The Coronation of this Prince, at which the Author assisted, is to be seen at large in the Volume of the *French Ceremonial*, Page 231.

The first of the Earls was Monsieur de *Ravestein*, who represented the Earl of *Flanders*. The second was *Engilbert de Cleves*, who represented the Earl of *Champagne*, and the third was Monsieur de *Foix*, who represented the Earl of *Toulouse*. The said Inauguration was at *Rheims* the 27th of May 1498, and this *Lewis XII.* was the fourth King who came collaterally to the Crown. The two first were, *Charles Martel*, or *Pepin* his Son, and *Hugh Capet*, both of them Mayors of the Palace, or Governors of their Kings; afterwards they turned Usurpers, deposed their Masters, and took the Government upon themselves. The third was King *Philip* of *Valois*, and the fourth King *Lewis* who now reigns. But the two last came by a just and indisputable Title to the Crown. The first Race of the Kings of *France* is deduced from *Merovens*; there had been two Kings before this *Merovens*, that is to say, *Pharamond*, who was the first that was elected King of *France*; for before his Time they were called Dukes or Kings of *Gaul*, and after him one of his Sons called *Clodion*. *Pharamond* was chosen King in the Year 420, and reigned 10 Years; his Son *Clodion* reigned 18, so that *Pharamond* and his Son reigned 28 Years. *Merovens* who succeeded was not *Clodion*'s Son, but his Kinsman; so that there seems to have been five Interruptions in the Royal Line. However, as I said before, the Genealogy of the Kings of *France* begins generally at *Merovens*, who was made King in the Year 448; so that the right Line is derived from thence, and runs down to *Lewis XII.* who was crowned 1090 Years after the Pedigree of the said Kings began. They who would divide it from King *Pharamond* need only add 28 more, and the Number will amount to 1078 Years since they were call'd

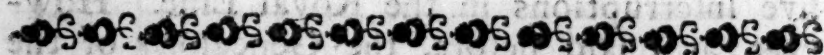
*Pharamond the first King of France.*

*The Genealogy of the Kings of France.*



A. D. 1498. Kings of France. From *Meroveus* to King *Pepin* there were 333 Years, during which Time the Line of *Meroveus* lasted. From King *Pepin* to *Hugh Capet* there were 237 Years, and that Time the Line of King *Pepin* and his Son *Charlemagne* continued. *Hugh Capet's* Line lasted 339 Years, and expired before *Philip de Valois*, and then the Line of the said *Philip de Valois* extinguished in *Charles VIII.* who (as is said before) died in the Year 1498, and was the last of that Family, which had continued Kings 169 Years, during which Time 7 Kings had succeeded of that Line, that is to say, *Philip de Valois*, King *John*, King *Charles V.* King *Charles VI.* King *Charles VII.* *Lewis XI.* and King *Charles VIII.* who was the last of the right Line of *Philip de Valois.*

The End of the MEMOIRS of *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argenton.*



The

The Secret  
**HISTORY**  
O F  
**LEWIS XI.**  
**KING of FRANCE:**

Otherwise called, The  
**SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.**

GIVING  
An Historical and Chronological Account  
of several remarkable Accidents and Ad-  
ventures that happened in *FRANCE*,  
and other neighbouring *STATES* and  
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inclusively.

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Written by one *JOHN DE TROYES*,  
Register of the Town-House in *Paris*.

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**L O N D O N:**  
Printed for *JOHN PHILLIPS*, at the *Black Bull*  
in *Cornhill*. 1722.

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THE SECRET  
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THE  
**Secret HISTORY**  
 OF  
**LEWIS XL**  
**KING of FRANCE.**

Otherwise call'd,

**The Scandalous Chronicle,**

**T**O the Honour and Praise of God, our *The Au-*  
 sweet Saviour and Redeemer, and the *thor's*  
 blessed glorious Virgin Mary, without *Preface.*  
 whose Assistance no good Works can be  
 performed. Knowing that several Kings, Princes,  
 Counts, Barons, Prelates, Noblemen, Ecclesiasticks,  
 and abundance of the common People, are often  
 pleased and delighted in hearing and reading the  
 surprising Histories of wonderful Things that have  
 happened in divers Places both of this and other  
 Christian States and Kingdoms, I applied myself  
 with abundance of Pleasure, from the 35th Year of  
 my Age, instead of spending my Time in Sloth and  
 Idleness, to writing a History of several remarkable

*Accidents and Adventures that happen'd in France, and in other Neighbouring Kingdoms, as far as my Memory would permit me; but especially from the Year 1460. in the Reign of Charles VII. to the Death of Lewis XI. his Son, who died the 30th of August, in the Year 1483. However, I neither design nor expect that this Historical Essay of mine should be call'd a Chronicle, being wholly unfit for so bold an Undertaking; neither indeed was I ever employ'd or permitted to write one, but what I have here ventur'd to record, is purely by way of Amusement to please and divert those who will give themselves the Trouble of Reading or hearing it Read; whom I also humbly entreat to excuse, and supply my Ignorance, by correcting and altering whatever they find amiss: For abundance of these remarkable Accidents have happen'd after so very different and so strange a manner, that it would have been a very difficult Task, either for me or any other Writer, to have given an exact and particular Account of every thing that happen'd during so long a Series of Time*

A. D.  
1460.

AND first of all then concerning the Goodness and Fertillity of the Earth in the Year 1460. which was so prodigious fruitful throughout the whole Kingdom of France, and bore such plentiful Crops of Corn, that at the very dearest time a Quarter of Wheat was sold but for Twenty four *Parisian* Sols; but there was a great Scarcity of Fruit, and as for the Vines, there was but little Wine, especially in the Isle of France, so that they had scarce an Hogshead to every Acre of Ground, but the Wine was extraordinary good, and that which grew in the fat Vineyards round *Paris*, was sold very dear, and bore the Price of ten or eleven Crowns a Hogshead.

ABOUT

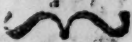
# The SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

7

ABOUT that time several poor indigent Wretches that were guilty of Thieving, Sacrilege, House-breaking, and other enormous Crimes, were made an Example of; and severely punish'd at *Paris*, amongst whom some were only whipp'd at the Cart's Tail, and afterwards pardon'd, as being their first Offence; and others who were old Offenders, and had been often guilty of Crimes of the like Nature, were condemn'd to be hang'd, and executed accordingly.

A. D.

1469.



MUCH about that time also a certain Woman nam'd *Perrette Mauger* was condemn'd to be burnt alive, for having committed several Robberies, and for harbouring and concealing several notorious Thieves and House-breakers, who had committed divers Robberies in and about *Paris*; as also for having sold and dispos'd of the said Goods that were stoln by these Thieves, and sharing with 'em the Money that arose from the Sale thereof: For which Crimes, and several other besides, which she confess'd at last, she was condemn'd by M. *Robert Destoutenville*, Mayor of *Paris*, to be burnt alive at the Stake before the Gallows, and all her Goods and Chattels to be forfeited to the King. From which Sentence she formally appeal'd to the Court of Parliament, upon the Account of which Appeal her Execution was deferr'd for some time; but after the Parliament had examin'd into her Tryal, they confirm'd the above mention'd Sentence, and having declar'd that the said *Perrette Mauger* had no manner of Grounds for her Appeal, order'd it immediately to be executed; upon which she declar'd her self to be with Child, which deferr'd the Execution a little longer; and presently a Jury of Midwives and Matrons were impannel'd and order'd to search

B b 4

her,



A. D. 1460. her, who upon a strict Examination reported to the Judges that she was not breeding, upon which Report she was immediately order'd to be burnt before the Gallows by *Henry Cousin* Hangman of *Paris*.

*Strange ADVENTURES that happen'd in England in the same Year 1460.*

IN this Year the Pope sent a Legate into *England*, who preach'd to the People of that Country, but especially in *London* the Chief City of that Kingdom; where he made several Remonstrances to the Inhabitants of that and the adjacent Parts much to the Prejudice, and contrary to the Interest of *Henry VI.* King of *England*; which Remonstrances the Cardinal of *York*, who accompany'd the Legate, explain'd in their own Language, with a long Exposition on the same. Upon which the Common People, who were wavering and fickle enough at the best, began to rise up in Rebellion against King *Henry*, and his Queen Daughter of *Rene* King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, and their Son the Prince of *Wales*. The Common People chose the Earl of *Warwick* for their Head, who was Governor of *Calais*, in the Room of *Richard* Duke of *York*, who pretended to be King, and boldly maintain'd the Kingdom of *England* belong'd to him, as being the next Heir of the Family of King *Richard II.* A little time afterwards the Duke of *York*, who had assembled a great Number of the Populace in Arms, took the Field, and march'd directly to a Park, where *Henry VI.* was, attended by several Dukes, Princes, and other Lords, all in Arms also. There were eight Avenues that led to this Park, and these were guarded by eight Barons

A. D.  
1469.

Barons of the Kingdom, all of them Traitors and Rebels to King *Henry*; who as soon as they were inform'd of the Duke of *York's* Arrival, immediately gave him Admittance into the Park, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and several others, who went directly to the Place where the King was, whom without any farther (a) Ceremony they seiz'd upon. Immediately after this Action, they slew several Princes and great Lords of the Blood Royal, that were with him. When the Earl of *Warwick* had so done, he took King *Henry* and brought him directly to *London*, carrying the naked Sword before him, as if he had been his Constable; and upon his Arrival at *London*, he led him strait to the *Tower*, in which there were four Barons of the Kingdom of King *Henry's* Party, that were kept Prisoners there; to whom King *Henry* some time after, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave very fair Words, and releas'd 'em out of the *Tower*, after they had solemnly propos'd 'em that their Persons should be protected from all manner of Danger whatsoever, and in Confidence of these fair Promises they consented to go out of the *Tower*. But as they were leading these four Barons after King *Henry* and the Earl of *Warwick*, there happen'd to be an Insurrection of the Mobb, and some of 'em came and kill'd one of the Barons, and gave him several Blows and Contusions; and the

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(a) *Thomas*, the Son of Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Lancashire* apprehended King *Henry VI.* as he sat at Dinner at *Waddington-Hall* in *Cleatherwood* in *Lancashire*, and forgetting all Respect due to so great a Prince, like a Common Malefactor with his Legs tied under his Horse's Belly, guarded him up towards *London*. By the way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who arrested him, and taking off his gilt Spurs, led him Prisoner to the *Tower*.

next



A. D. next Day, notwithstanding all the fine Promises  
1460. that were made them, the three other Barons  
were executed on *Tower-hill*.

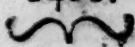
At the same time there arose a great Quarrel between the King's Officers belonging to the Court of *Aids*, and one of the Beadles of the University of *Paris*, for some Affront that the said Beadle had given to two Counsellors of the same Court; for which Misdemeanour the said Beadle was put into the Common Goal of *Paris*; which Method of proceeding the whole University highly resented, and were so extremely displeas'd with it, that till the Affair was accommodated, and the Beadle restor'd to his Liberty, they refus'd either to preach, pray, or read to the People; but upon his Enlargement they were well satisfied, and perform'd their usual Duty.

ABOUT this time a certain Person call'd *Anthony* the Bastard of *Burgundy* came into *Paris* in a Disguise, and staid their only one Day and a Night; and when the Inhabitants of the City were inform'd of his coming in that manner, several Officers and Men of Note could not imagine what should be the Meaning of it; and immediately dispatch'd certain Persons to carry the News of it to the King, who spoke very favourably of the Citizens, and declar'd they were not the least privy to his coming in that clandestine Way. Upon which the King in all haste sends the Marshal de *Loheac*, and M. *John Bureau* Treasurer of *France*, to enquire into the Truth of the Relation that was brought him, and to take all the Care imaginable to prevent whatever Designs this Emissary of the House of *Burgundy* might have form'd in the City. At the same time also the Citizens of *Paris*, (to free themselves from all manner of Suspicion of their consent-



consenting to his coming *incognito*) deputed some of the chief of their Citizens, amongst whom were M. *John de Lolive*, Dr. of Divinity, and Chancellors of the Church of *Paris*, *Nicholas de Louviers*, M. *John Clerebourg* Master of the Mint, M. *John Lullier* Town-Clerk, *James Rebour* Attorney, *John Volant* Merchant, and several others, to represent the Matter fairly to the King. His Majesty receiv'd them very graciously; and after they had ended their Speech, which was made to clear their Innocence, he was extremely well satisfied with them, and having given them a very mild and gracious Answer, they return'd to *Paris* with great Joy and Gladness of Heart.

A. D.  
1460.



At that time M. *Robert Destouteville*, who was Mayor of *Paris*, was committed Prisoner to the *Bastille*, and afterwards to the *Louvre*, by the Command of the Marshal de *Lobzac* and M. *John Bureau*; for some Injustice and Abuses he had committed in the Exercise of his Office, tho' it was never fairly prov'd upon him. About that time also several rude and uncivil Actions were committed by M. *John Advin*, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, in the House of the said *Destouteville*, such as searching of Boxes, Trunks, and other Places for Letters; not to mention the several Incivilities he offer'd to the Lady *Ambroise de Lore*, his Wife, who was a Woman of great Virtue, Honour and Wisdom.

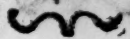
In this Year the Rivers of *Seine* and the *Marne* were swoln so prodigiously, that in one Night's time the *Marne* rose above six foot high about *St. Maur des-Fosses*, and did a great deal of Damage in several Places; but among the rest the River came up so high in a Village call'd *Claye*, in which there was a Palace belonging to the Bishop of *Meaux*, that it wash'd away all the

A. D. 1460. the Brick-work of the Front of it, where there were two stately Towers newly erected, in which there were fine and large Apartments, richly furnish'd and adorn'd with Tapestry, Pictures, &c. but the River swept all away.

ABOUT that time also it happen'd, that the Body of the Church of *Fescamp* in *Normandy* was burnt down to the Ground by a fiery Exhalation that came from the Sea towards the *Marshes of Cornwall*; and caught hold of the Steeple of the said Abbey which was quite consum'd, and all the Bells melted down, to the great Loss and Detriment of the Abbot and his whole Fraternity.

AT the same time there was a great Noise and Discourse all over the Kingdom of *France*, and other Places, of a Young Girl of about eighteen Years of Age, who liv'd in the City of *Mans*, and play'd several ridiculous Pranks and Follies; such as foaming at the Mouth, leaping into the Air, screaming out aloud, putting her Body into a thousand convulsive Motions, and pretending to be tormented by the Devil; by which antick Tricks, and several others too tedious to mention here, she impos'd upon and cheated a-bundance of People that came to see her. But at last she was discover'd to be an idle Hussy, and that she play'd all her Devilish Pranks by the Instigation and Contrivance of some of the Officers belonging to the Bishop of *Mans*, who maintain'd her for that Purpose; and had so far brought her to their Beck, that she would do any thing they bid her, and they had train'd her up from her Infancy to play these Pranks.

ABOUT the same time it happen'd in *England* some time after the Earl of *Warwick's* seizing upon the Person of King *Henry*, that the Duke of *Somerset* the King's Confin, in Conjunction



junction with several Young Noblemen, Relations and Heirs to those who were slain at the taking of King *Henry*, having got together a considerable Body of Men, took the Field, and march'd directly against the Duke of *York*, found him encamp'd in the Plains of (a) *St. Albans*, where they gave him Battle, and cut him and his whole Army to pieces. In this Battle the Duke of *York* was slain himself, and when his Body was found they cut off his Head, and by way of Derision, because he pretended to the Crown of *England*, they fix'd it upon the Point of a Lance, and put a Crown of Straw in the Form of a Royal Crown upon it. With him there fell in the Battle six and twenty Barons, Knights, Esquires, and Persons of Note in the Kingdom; besides a great Number of Common Soldiers, amounting in all to above 8 or 9000 Men.

AND on *Wednesday* the 3d of *February* in the same Year 1460. were read and publish'd at *Roan*, and in several other Places in the *Dutchy of Normandy*, in the publick Market-places by Sound of Trumpet, the King's Letters Patent; by which he declar'd it was his Royal Will and Pleasure that the whole Country of *Normandy* together with its Sea-ports, should be free and

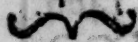
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(a) The Battle was not fought at *St. Albans*, but at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, on the 30th of *December*, 1460. in which the Duke of *York* was kill'd, and afterwards had his Head cut off, and by way of Derision a Crown of Paper, not of Straw, as our Author writes, set upon it, and presented to Queen *Margaret*, who not long after sent it with the Heads of other Lords to be fix'd upon Poles over the Gate of the City of *York*. The Person that committed this ungenerous Action was the Lord *Clifford*, who after the Battle of *Wakefield* in cold Blood murder'd the Young Earl of *Rutland*, the Duke of *York*'s Third Son.

open



A. D.  
1461.



open to all *English* Men and Women, of what Rank or Condition soever; and in what Habit soever they shall think fit to wear, (provided they were of King *Henry's* Party) and without having any Passport, to have free Liberty of Trade and Commerce throughout his whole Kingdom.

IN the Year 1461. in the Month of *July*, it happen'd that King *Charles VII.* fell sick at the Castle of *Meum* upon the *Yeure*, of a Desteemper that was incurable, and of which he died on *Wednesday* the 22d of *July*, between 1 and 2 a Clock in the Afternoon, much lamented by the whole Kingdom; as being a very wise and valiant Prince, and leaving his Kingdom in a very peaceful and flourishing Condition.

IMMEDIATELY after the Death of the King was publickly known, the greatest part of the Officers of *Paris*, and several others of the Kingdom, went to pay their Respects to the *Dauphin*, who resided at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court in *Hainault*; and who by the Decease of his Father came to the Crown of *France*. The Occasion of their waiting on him there, was, to know his Royal Will and Pleasure; and whether they should be continued in the same Posts and Employments they enjoy'd under his Father: At which Place after his Death he made a Promotion of several Officers in the Chamber of Accounts or Exchequer, at *Paris*: Amongst the rest, he made M. *Peter l'Orfeure* Lord of *Dermenonville*, and *Nicholas de Louviers* Counsellors of the same Exchequer, and M. *John Baillett* Master of the Requests, and Reporter of the Court of *Chancery*: He also confirm'd M. *Simon Charles*, who was carried in a Litter into *Hainault*, in the Place he was possess'd of in the Exchequer: and the rest of the Officers that came thither to beg the Favour of being continued in their respective Posts and

and Employments, were order'd back to *Paris* to wait for the King's coming thither.

A. D.

1461.

AND upon the 24th of *July*, 1461. *M. Ethienne*, Knight; who was *Treasurer* or Chief Director of the *Finances* in the Reign of the late King *Charles*, and whom he appointed to be one of the Executors of his last Will and Testament, as also *M. Dreux Bude* the *Grand (a) Audiencier* of *France* went from *Paris* to visit the King's Corps that lay in State at *Meum*; but the Lord *d'Aigreville* Captain of *Montargis* at the earnest Solicitation of a certain Gentleman nam'd *Vuasse Morpedon* caus'd them both to be seiz'd at *Montargis*; where they remain'd Prisoners for some time, till the King sent Orders for their Release, and continu'd 'em both in their respective Employments of *Treasurer* and *Audiencier*.

BUT it was very observable, that on the 23d of *July* in 1461. which was the next Day after the King's Death, a large blazing Star was seen in the Sky about seven a Clock at Night, which cast such a glaring and resplendent Light through the Air, that all *Paris* seem'd to be in a Flame; but Heaven in its Mercy has been still pleas'd to preserve that good City.

ON *Thursday* the 6th of *August*, 1461. the Body of the late King *Charles VII.* was brought from *Meum* with great Solemnity, to the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in the Fields, without the Gates of *Paris*: And the next Day the Clergy, Nobility, Officers, Citizens, and abundance of the Populace repair'd thither; and conducted it from thence to *Paris*, with a great deal of Pomp, Ceremony and Respect, as is usual upon such Occasions. The Funeral Procession was thus regulated.

(a) One of the Chief Officers of the Chancery of *France*, who examines all Letters-Patents, &c. before they pass the Seals.

A. D.

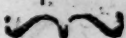
1461.

regulated. Before the Corps were born 200 Wax-Candles of four Pounds each, adorn'd and painted with the Arms of *France*, and carry'd by 200 inferiour Persons dress'd in long Mourning Robes and Black Caps; the Body was born in a Litter by the Salt-Porters of *Paris*, which was lin'd and cover'd with a rich Cloth of Gold valu'd at 1200 Crowns of Gold; and upon the top of it was plac'd the Effigies of the late King *Charles* dress'd in his Royal Robes, with a Crown on his Head, holding in one Hand a Scepter, and in the other a Regal Truncheon; and in this State it was carried to the great Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*; all the Bell-Men of the City cloath'd also in Black, and bearing on each side of their Gowns the Arms of *France*, marching before it; and after them came those that bore the Candles, adorn'd and painted with the same Arms, before the Litter. After the Litter came the Duke of *Orleans* and the Count *d'Angoulesme* as Chief Mourners, accompany'd by the Counts *d'Eu* and *Dunois*; *M. John Jouvenelle des Voisins*, Knight and Chancellor of *France*, and the Master of the Horse, all cloath'd in deep Mourning, and mounted on Horse-back: Next to them march'd all the Officers of the Household to the late King, on Foot, by two and two, dress'd in deep Mourning also; and close to the Litter rode six Pages in Black upon six fine Horses cover'd all over with Black Velvet, which was a very dismal and melancholy Sight to behold. And there was such an universal Concern and Lamentation for his Death, and scarce a dry Eye was left in the whole City; nay, 'tis reported, that one of his Pages took his Master's Death so to Heart; that for four whole Days together, he neither eat nor drank any thing. The next Day, which was the 9th of



of *August*, his Body was removed from the Church of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris* about 3 in the Afternoon, and carried with the above-mentioned Pomp and Ceremony to *St. Dennis*, where it was deposited, and now lies.

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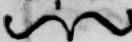


TOWARDS the end of this Month our most gracious Sovereign *Lewis XI.* then only *Dauphin* and eldest Son of *Charles VII.* lately deceased, was crowned King of *France* at *Rheims* by the Archbishop *Jouvenel*, where he was attended by the greatest Part of the Nobility of his Kingdom.

UPON the last Day of this Month of *August* the King set out from an *Hotel* named *les Porcherons*, which was in the Suburbs near the Gate of *St. Honnore*, belonging to *M. John Bureau*, who was knighted at his Coronation at *Rheims*, in order to make his publick Entry into *Paris*; upon which the whole Body of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry came out to pay their Homage to him, and welcome him to their City; amongst whom were the Bishop of *Paris* named *William Chartier*, the whole University, the Court of Parliament, the Mayor of *Paris*, all the Officers of the Exchequer, and the Provost of Merchants, with the Aldermen in their *Damask Robes* lin'd with *Sables*: And the Mayor and Aldermen, after they had saluted and paid their Respects to the King, presented him with the Keys of the City Gates, thro' which he was to make his Entry, which he very graciously returned; and then the Way was ordered to be cleared, to make room for others to approach his Majesty, and make their Compliment to him, of which Number he made a great many Knights on the spot. As the King passed thro' the Gate of *St. Dennis* he found near the Church of *St. Ladre* a Herald mounted on Horseback, and

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clothed

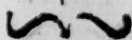
A. D. 1461.  clothed in the City Livery, who presented him with five Ladies on the part of the City, richly dressed, and mounted on five fine Horses sumptuously accoutred with rich Furniture, on which were embroidered the City Arms; and these five Ladies were habited after a sort of a manner representing the five Letters of *Paris*, and every one of them made a Speech to the King, which was prepared for 'em before-hand.

THERE was a very great Appearance at the King's publick Entry into *Paris*, both of his own Nobility, and of foreign Princes and Noblemen, amongst whom were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon* and *Cleves*, the Count *de Charolois*, the Duke of *Burgundy's* eldest Son, the Counts *d'Angoulesme*, *St. Paul*, and *Dunois*, besides several other Earls, Barons, Knights, Captains, and a great Number of Persons of Note and Distinction, who in honour of the Day, and to augment the Splendor and Magnificence of the triumphal Entry, had bestowed vast Sums in rich and costly Furniture, with which their Horses were caparison'd; some of their Housings were of the richest Cloth of Gold, made after different Fashions, and lin'd with Sables; others were of Crimson Velvet, lin'd with Ermin or rich Damask, embroidered with Gold and Silver, and hung round with great Silver Bells, which were of a considerable Value; and upon the Horses rode fine young Pages, the very Flower of Youth and Beauty, richly dressed, and wearing an embroidered Scarf over their Shoulders, that hung down to the Crupper, which made a very noble and gallant Show.

THE *Parisians* on this Occasion caused a very fine Ship to be cast in Silver, which was born aloft upon Mens Shoulders, and just as the King made his Entry thro' the Gate of *St. Dennis*, it was

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was placed upon the Draw-bridge near the said Gate, to represent the City Arms. In it were placed three Persons representing the three Estates of the Kingdom, and in the Stern and the Poop sat two more personating Justice and Equity, and out of the Scuttle, which was form'd in the Shape of a Flower-de-luce, issued a King dressed in Royal Robes, and attended by two Angels. A little farther at the Fountain *du Ponceau* there were wild Men that played the Parts of Gladiators, and near them were placed three handsome Wenches stark naked, representing Mermaids, with lovely hard white Bubbles, a glorious Sight! sporting and singing gay enlivening Airs, which were humoured and accompanied with the melodious Harmony of soft Musick. And to comfort and refresh the People, there were several Pipes in the said Fountain that ran Milk, Wine and *Hippocras*, of which every one drank what he pleased; and a little below the Fountain the Passion of our Saviour was represented as he was crucified between two Thieves. At a little distance from this Crucifix there were posted a Band of Men richly dressed, representing Hunters that had just run down a Stag, whose death was accompanied with the melodious Noise of Dogs and Horns; and in the *Rue de Boucherie* there were large Scaffolds erected in the form of the *Bastile* at *Dieppe*. And when the King was passed by them, the *English* who were within the *Bastile* were furiously attacked by the King's Soldiers, taken Prisoners, and had all their Throats cut. Opposite to the Gate of the *Chastellet* there was a fine Appearance of Persons of Quality; all the Windows were hung with rich Tapestry, and the Streets thro' which the King passed were crowded with a prodigious Number of People.



A. D. In this pompous Manner he proceeded to the  
 1461. Church of *Nostre Dame*, and having performed  
 his Devotions to the blessed Virgin, he returned  
 to his Royal Palace, where he had a splendid  
 and magnificent Entertainment, and lay there  
 that Night. The next Morning, which was the  
 first of *September* in the Year 1461, he removed  
 from thence into his *Hotel des Tournelles* near  
 the *Bastile de St. Anthoine*, where he staid some  
 time, during which he made several Acts and  
 Ordinances, and turned several of the Officers  
 of his Kingdom out of their Posts and Employ-  
 ments, amongst the rest the Chancellor *Juvenal*  
*des Ursins*, the Marshal, Admiral, the first Pre-  
 sident of the Court of Parliament, and the Pro-  
 vost of *Paris*, and put new ones in their Places.

HE also made a new Regulation in all his  
 Courts of Justice and Offices belonging to the  
 Crown, especially in the Exchequer, Treasury,  
 and the Mint, turning out abundance of Coun-  
 sellors, Secretaries, Receivers-General, Clerks,  
 and other Officers of an inferior nature, and  
 putting others in their room.

THE third of *September* 1461 the King, at-  
 tended by some of the Lords and Gentlemen of  
 his Court, was entertained at Supper in the  
 House of one M. *William de Corbie*, a Counsellor  
 of the Court of Parliament, whom he made Pre-  
 sident of *Dauphine* that very Night. There were  
 abundance of fine Ladies and honest Citizens  
 Wives to see the King at Supper; and during  
 his Stay at *Paris* he ordered several Feasts and  
 Entertainments to be made in divers Places of  
 the City on purpose to treat and divert them.

ABOUT this time it happened that a beautiful  
 young Woman named *Joan du Bois*, Wife to a  
 certain Officer belonging to the *Chastellet* of *Pa-*  
*ris*, made an Elopement from her Husband, but  
 afterwards,

afterwards, by the Counsel and Advice of his intimate Friends, he took her Home again; she became a very good Woman, and liv'd a sober and vertuous Life with her Husband.

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IN the Years 1462 and 1463 nothing material or worth recording happened, and therefore I have pass'd them over in Silence. And as for the Year 1463, as I have already observed, there was nothing happened in it worth taking notice of, unless 'twas the Shortness of the Winter, and the Length of the Summer, which was extremely pleasant, and very favourable to the Vines, so that we had Plenty of good Wine that very Year, but a great Scarcity of all other Fruits of the Earth.

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1462.  
1463:

IN the Year 1464, upon *Tuesday* the 15th of *May*, the King came from *Nogent le Roy*, where the Queen was brought to-bed of a young Princess, and on the same Day in the Evening supped at *M. Charles d'Orgemont's* Lord of *Mery*, and from thence he set out for the Frontiers of *Picardy*, where he concluded to have found the Ambassadors whom *Edward* King of *England* had promised to send thither to him, but they never came; whereupon the King left *Picardy*, and made a Progress to *Roan*, and several other Places in *Normandy*. About that time it happened that a small Vessel of *Dieppe* was seized upon the Coast of *Holland* by some of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ships, in which there was a Person named the Bastard of *Rubempre*, who with the rest of the Ships Crew was immediately clapt into Prison, upon pretence that their Design of hovering about those Parts was purely to seize upon the Person of the Count de *Charolois*: And this Report the *Flemings* spread abroad every where, but there was nothing in it.

A. D.  
1464.

A. D.  
1464.

ABOUT that time the King set out from *Nor-mandy* in his Return to *Nogent*, from whence he went to visit *Tours*, *Chinon* and *Poitiers*; at which Place arrived the Deputies that were sent by the City of *Paris* to desire his Majesty to grant them farther Privileges; but all they were able to obtain of him was, only to be exempted from a small Tax called the *Foreign Impost*, which was no great Matter; and even that small Gift they did not enjoy, for the Clerks of the Exchequer, to whom their Letters Patents were directed, were negligent, and would not dispatch their Business in time. The Ambassadors of the Duke of *Bretagne* were likewise to wait on him there, whom he heard upon several Articles that were brought him, in relation to the Affair between the Duke and him; which Articles, or at least the greatest part of 'em, were granted and allowed of by his Majesty; and by those Articles of Agreement the said Ambassadors did promise and engage that their Master the Duke of *Bretagne* should wait on his Majesty either at *Poitiers* or elsewhere to confirm and ratify the said Articles. After which the Ambassadors took their Leave of the King, pretending to return into *Bretagne*; but they did quite the contrary, as you will find hereafter. The Day they set out from *Poitiers*, which was *Saturday*, they went but 4 Leagues, where they stay'd till the *Monday* following; and upon *Sunday* the Duke of *Berry*, the King's own Brother, departed from *Poitiers* also, and lay that Night with the Ambassadors, who received him with abundance of Kindness and Civility, and the next Morning early in great haste they all set out together for *Bretagne*, fearing lest the King should be inform'd of his Brother's going with them, and upon that account follow



follow them ; besides the Count *de Dunois* was already arrived at the Duke of *Bretagne's* Court, which would be apt to give the King a Suspicion of some secret Designs on foot against him.

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SOON after the Departure of these Ambassadors the Duke of *Bourbon* declares War against the King, and invades his Dominions, seizing upon whatever belonged to the King, in his Territories, and putting the Lord *de Croussol*, a great Favourite of the King's, under an Arrest. This Lord *de Croussol* was only passing thro' his Country with his Lady and the rest of his Family ; however they were all of 'em arrested, and confined in the City of *Cosne* in *Bourbonnois*.

AFTER this, *William Juvenal des Ursins* Lord of *Traynel*, formerly Chancellor of *France*, and *M. Peter Doriolle* the late Treasurer, were also arrested in the City of *Molins*, where they endured a long Imprisonment ; but at last the Duke of *Bourbon* released them, and gave 'em Liberty to go back to the King.

ON Sunday the 12th of March in the Year 1464, after the Duke of *Berry's* Departure from *Poitiers*, *Anthony Chabannes* Count *de Dampmartin*, who was a Prisoner in the *Bastile de St. Anthoine*, made his Escape and fled into *Berry* and *Bourbonnois*, where he was kindly received. But several who were suspected to be accessory to his Escape, were immediately committed to Prison.

ON Wednesday the 15th of March *M. Charles de Melun* the King's Lieutenant, *M. John Balue* Bishop of *Eureux*, and *M. John* the Mayor, with the Kings Secretary, met together in the Town-House, where they caused several Articles that the King had given them in charge, to be read ; and after the reading was over they made several Acts and Ordinances for the better Defence and Security of the City, amongst the rest there

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was a particular Order to appoint a strong Watch to guard the City Gates by Night, to shut them at a constant Hour, to have Iron Chains fastened at the end of every Street, to bar them up upon any occasion; and several others, which being too long to be inserted here, I shall for Brevity's sake omit them.

BUT after the Escape of the Count *de Dampmartin*, the King found out a Stratagem to surprise the two strong Places of *Fourgeau* and *Morue*, which were defended by *Jeffery Cueur*, Son of the late *James Cueur*, whom he made a Prisoner, and seized upon all the Riches he found in them.

As soon as this Business was over the King, attended by the King of *Sicily* and the Lord *du Maine*, marched towards *Angiers* and *Pont de Ce*, to demand of those who had so basely deserted him what Reasons induced them to retire, and withdraw themselves into *Bretagne*. He ordered his Army, which was chiefly composed of the standing Forces of the Kingdom, and amounted to 20 or 30000 Men, immediately to follow him; but after he had been there for some time, and found he could not possibly finish the War on that side so soon as he expected, he marched with a strong Detachment and some Cannon into the Dutchy of *Berry*, towards *Issoudon*, *Viarron*, *Dreux*, and other neighbouring Towns, leaving the King of *Sicily* and the Count *du Maine* with a good Body of Troops to defend and guard the Passes, and to hinder the *Bretons* from penetrating either into *Normandy*, or into any other Part of his Kingdom.

THE King made but a short Stay in the Dutchy of *Berry*, and from thence he marched into *Bourbonnois*, leaving the City of *Bourges* behind him, in which there was a strong Garrison  
com-

commanded by Monsieur the Duke of *Bourbon's* Bastard, who held it for the Duke of *Berry*, he marched into *Bourbonnois*, where the Town and Castle of *St. Amant Lalier* were taken by Storm on the Day of our Lord's Ascension, and a little after the Town and Castle of *Molucon* surrendered upon Articles of Capitulation, in which were *James de Bourbon* with about 35 Lances, who took an Oath never to bear Arms against the King again, upon which they were suffered to march out without being plundered, and had the liberty of going where they pleased.

UPON *Ascension-Eve* the Chancellor *Traynel*, *M. Estienne* Knight, *Nicholas de Louviers*, and *M. John de Molins*, arrived at *Paris*, by whom the King wrote to his good People and Citizens of that Place, thanking them for their good Inclinations and Loyalty to him, exhorting them to continue firm and stedfast in their Allegiance, and commanding them to conduct the Queen safe to *Paris*, where he would have her Lie-in, as loving that City above any in his Kingdom.

ON *Thursday* the 30th of *May* in 1465 it happened that one *John de Hure* Merchant of the City of *Sens*, came with his Nephew and some other Company to lodge in a Mill, which was called the *Little-Mill*, on the other side of *Moret* in *Gastinois*, and about Midnight 30 or 40 Horse well armed came and beat up their Quarters, plundered them of all they had, and carried away the Merchant and his whole Company Prisoners. At the same time the King ordered the Bridges of *Chamois* and *Beaumont* on the *Oise*, with several others, to be broken down.

ABOUT that time the Bastard of *Burgundy* and the Marshal of *Burgundy*, with a considerable Body of the Count de *Charolois's* Forces, invaded the King's Dominions, and took from him



A. D. 1465. him the Towns of *Roye* and *Montdidier*. Upon which the Count de *Nevers* and *Joachim Rouault* Marshal of *France*, who were in *Peronne* with a Garifon of about 4000 Men, retir'd with part of them to *Noyon* and *Compeigne*, leaving some of the Nobility with about 500 Frank Archers in *Peronne* for its Defence.

AT the same time the King, who was then in *Bourlonnois*, left that Country and retir'd to *St. Pourfain*, whither his Sister the Dutcheffs of *Bourbon* and *Auvergne* came also to wait on him, being extremely concern'd at the Difference that there was between the King her Brother and her Husband the Duke of *Bourbon*, and hoped by that means to have accommodated Matters between them, but it was not in her Power to do it: In the mean time however, the Duke of *Bourbon* evacuated *Molins*, and retir'd to *Rion*.

ABOUT this time came Orders for the besieging of *St. Maurice*, which the Count de *Dampmartin* obstinately held against the King. M. *Charles de Meleum* Bailiff of *Sens*, with several others of the same Corporation, had the Direction of that Siege, but finding the Body of Men that were under their Command too weak for such an Undertaking, M. *Anthony* Bailiff of *Meleum* was order'd thither with a strong Reinforcement of Archers and Cross-Bow-Men from *Paris*, and upon the Arrival of these Forces *St. Maurice* beat the Chamade, and surrender'd the Town upon Articles of Capitulation.

ON the 25th of *June* it was order'd by the Magistrates of *Paris* assembled in the Town-House, that the Streets should be unchain'd, but that the Iron-Chains should still remain hanging at the Corner of every Street to which they belong'd; in order to have them in a readiness upon any Occasion, that Persons should be de-  
puted

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1465.

puted to examine in what Condition they were in; and if they wanted mending to get them instantly repair'd, and keep them always fit for Service; which was accordingly done. There was also another Order issu'd out, by which every Citizen was oblig'd to take Arms, and to lay in a stock of Provision and Ammunition for the Defence of the City in case of Need; and this Order was sent in Writing to every particular House-keeper in *Paris*.

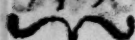
'T WAS much about this time that a great Body of *Burgundians*, *Picardians*, and of other Nations subject to the Count *de Charolois*, march'd into *France* as far as *Pont St. Maxence*, which one *Madre*, who was the Governor of it, deliver'd up to the Count *de Charolois* for a certain Sum of Money: Upon which he advanc'd with his Army into the *Isle of France*, where he committed great Ravages and Devastations, notwithstanding he pretended this War was undertaken purely for the *Publick Good*, and to free the Subjects of *France* from the Tyranny of their King.

SOON after this Business of *Pont St. Maxence* the *Burgundians* took *Beaulieu*, which a Party of the Marshal *Joachim's* own Regiment had a long time defended, and held out against them; who at last surrender'd upon Articles, and march'd out with Bag and Baggage, and the usual Marks of Honour.

AND as soon as the *Burgundians* had enter'd the *Isle of France*, they dispers'd themselves in small Bodies all over the County, and took *Dampmartin*, *Nantouillet*, *Villemonble*, and several other inconsiderable Places, and afterwards at *Laigny* they committed great Disorders and Outrages, tearing and burning all the Papers relating to the *Publick Accounts* of the Province,

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vince, ordering that all Commodities should be free from Taxes in the Town, and commanding the Salt which was stor'd up in the Publick Granaries for the King's Use, to be given to whomsoever had Occasion of it upon paying Custom for it.

ABOUT this time the King who was in *Bourbonnois* laid Siege to *Rion* in *Auvergne*, in which were the Duke of *Bourbon* and *Nemours*, the Count d' *Armaignac*, the Lord *Albret*, and several other Persons of Note. The King had, at that time when he invested the Town, the finest Army that ever was seen; having in all, including the Nobility, and Persons of Note and Distinction, above 24000 effective Men of regular Troops.

AND on *Wednesday* the 4th of *July* in the same Year the King, who was still before *Rion*, wrote Letters to M. *Charles Meleum* his Lieutenant of *Paris*, the Marshal *Joachim*, and the Citizens of *Paris*, which he sent by M. *Charles de Charlay* the Captain of the Watch; and in these Letters he heartily thank'd his good Citizens of *Paris* for their Stedfastness and Loyalty to his Person, desiring and exhorting them to continue in their Duty and Allegiance, and assuring them that within fifteen Days he would be at *Paris* with his whole Army. He also order'd the said *Charles de Charlay* to acquaint them by Word of Mouth of certain Terms and Articles of Agreement that he had made with the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Nemours*, and the Lords d' *Armaignac* and *Albret*, and how by the Compact all and every of 'em had solemnly and sincerely promis'd henceforth never to bear Arms against him, but to live and die in his Service; and that the said Dukes and Lords above-mention'd had faithfully promis'd to do their Duty, in  
endea-



endeavouring to persuaade the other Lords that were engag'd in the Confederacy to accept of the same Terms of Accommodation; and that the four above-mention'd Lords had agreed to send before the Feast of *August* their Ambassadors to the King at *Paris* in order to treat of Peace; and that if they could not induce the other Lords engag'd in the same Confederacy to harken to a Peace, they had solemnly vow'd and sworn to keep the Promise they had made of never bearing Arms against the King, but to live and die in Defence of him and his Kingdom. And that as a farther Confirmation of this Promise, the above-mention'd Lords had caus'd it to be register'd by two Publick Notaries at *Mossiat* near *Ryon*, agreeing and consenting to be excommunicated, provided they, or either of 'em, should act to the contrary.

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ON the *Friday* following a large Body of the Count de *Charolois's* Forces, the greatest part of them *Burgundians*, arriv'd at *St. Dennis*, from whence they sent a Detachment to *Pont S. Clou*, in hopes of making themselves Masters of it, but not being able to effect their Project, they march'd back to *St. Dennis*.

ON *Sunday* the 12th of *July*, 1465. the *Burgundians* appear'd before *Paris*, but finding they could not carry their Point, they retir'd to *St. Dennis* with the loss of a few Men, who were endeavouring to scale the Walls.

ON *Monday* the 8th of *August* the *Burgundians* came a second time before *Paris* with all their Artillery and heavy Cannon, but before their Army appear'd in sight of the Town, they sent four Heralds to the Gate of *St. Dennis*, at which *M. Peter l'Orfeure*, Lord *Dermenonville*, and *M. John de Pompaincourt* Lord of *Cercelles* commanded as Captains of the Guards that Day.

Their

A. D. 1465. Their pretended Message was to demand Provision for their Army, and a free Admittance into *Paris* in a peaceful and friendly Manner; and to let the Citizens know, that if they refus'd to grant their Demands, they would enter the Town by Force, and give it up to be plunder'd by their Soldiers.

SCARCE had the four Heralds delivered their Message, when the *Burgundians* (who thought to have surpris'd the Town, and cut in pieces the Guard that defended the Gate of *St. Dennis*, without giving the Citizens time to return an Answer) appeared with a considerable Body of Forces, and penetrating as far as *St. Ladre*, were in hopes of getting within the Barriers that led to that Gate, which they designed to have forced with their Cannon and other Warlike Engines: But the Citizens made a vigorous Resistance, and the Marshal *Joachim* with his own Regiment gave them a very warm Reception; so that the *Burgundians* finding that they could not succeed in their Design, retired to their Camp with the Loss of abundance of Men kill'd and wounded. Immediately their whole Army invested the Town, in which they did great Execution with their Cannon, Culverins, and other Warlike Engines, and kill'd and wounded a great many Men. During this Bombardment there was a cowardly Rascal of a Bailiff named *Casin Chollet*, that ran up and down the Streets like one frighted out of his Wits, crying out, *Get you into your Houses, O Parisians, and shut the Doors, for the Burgundians are entred the Town;* which put the Inhabitants into so dreadful a Consternation, that several Women with Child miscarried, and others died of the Fright.

NO Action happened before *Paris* on the *Tuesday* following, only the Count *de St. Paul*, who



who was at *St. Dennis* with the *Count de Charolois*, marched from thence with a Detachment of *Picardians* and *Burgundians*, in order to possess himself of *Pont St. Clou*, but the Project failed at that time. And on the *Wednesday* following there arrived in his Camp a fine Train of Artillery, consisting of about 50 or 60 Pieces of Cannon, which the *Count de Charolois* had order'd to be sent him: And on the same Day a Brigade of *M. Peter de Breze's* Regiment march'd out of *Paris* to intercept the *Burgundians* in their March to *St. Clou*, two of which they kill'd, and took 5 Prisoners; one of which receiv'd so terrible a Blow as clove his Head asunder, and the fore part of it hung down by a bit of Skin upon his Breast. The *Burgundians* also took an Archer, Servant to *M. John Noyer* of the same Regiment; and in the Evening they made a vigorous Attack upon *St. Clou*, and storming the Outworks, put the Garison who held it for the King into such a Consternation, that they agreed to capitulate, and surrender'd the Town immediately upon Condition to be safely conducted to *Paris*, and to deliver up the five *Burgundians* they had taken that Day; and for Performance of Articles Hostages were exchange'd on both sides.

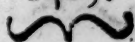
ON the *Friday* following the Magistrates of *Paris* held a great Council in the Town-House to advise and consider what Answer they should return to the *Burgundians*; who requir'd of them to send some Commissioners to treat with the *Count de Charolois*, who would privately inform them by Word of Mouth, of the Reasons that had induc'd him to take up Arms against the King. At last, after some Debate, they resolv'd to acquaint the *Count de Charolois* with their Resolution of sending some Commissioners, (provided



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vided he would send them a Passport to *Paris*) to treat with him, and to hear what Propositions he had to make; letting him know at the same time that they would communicate whatever he had to offer, either to the King who was at *Orleans*, or to his Privy Council at *Paris*; who might return what Answer they thought most proper in the present Posture of Affairs. The same Day about six in the Evening two Heralds from the Count *de Charolois* came to the Gate of *St. Honnore* for the Answer you have already heard, who were told, that if the Count *de Charolois* would be pleas'd to come any where near *Paris*, and send a Passport, that Commissioners should be sent to wait on him, but nothing farther could be granted. After this they desir'd leave to buy some Paper and Parchment, which was granted them; but were denied Sugar, and other things that they wanted in their Camp, for their Sick and Wounded; so that they were forc'd to return without these Commodities, which they took very ill of the *Parisians*.

ON Sunday the 14th of July, 1465. early in the Morning arriv'd at *Paris* the Count *de la Borde* and *M. Cousinot*, who brought Letters from the King to his good Citizens of *Paris*, in which the King, as he had done before, thank'd them for their Zeal and Affection to his Person, and for their brave Resistance and Defence of his Capital against the *Burgundians*, desiring them withal to depend upon whatever the said *de la Borde* and *Cousinot* should tell them in his Name, the Substance of which was, that the King thank'd 'em heartily for their Loyalty and good Affection towards him, desir'd them to continue firm and stedfast in it, and that they might depend on his being at *Paris* (as a Place he desir'd the most to be in) the Tuesday following; and that



that he had rather lose half his Kingdom, than any Misfortune or Inconveniency, that was in his Power to prevent, should happen to his good Citizens of *Paris*; whom he desir'd by the said *Cousinot* to provide Lodgings and Quarters for his Men at Arms, and the Retinue that he should bring with him, and to set a reasonable Price on all manner of Provision; to which M. *Henry de Liure* the Mayor of *Paris* immediately consented, and took all the Care imaginable to see it done.

ON the *Monday* following the *Burgundians* broke up from *St. Clou*, and march'd with all their Artillery and heavy Cannon to *Mont l'Hery*, where they encamp'd, in order to join the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*, the Count de *Dunois*, and several others that were coming in to the Count de *Charolois*. The News of the Movement was immediately dispatch'd to the King, who was on this side *Orleans* on his March towards *Paris*, and who in all haste by long and tedious Marches on *Tuesday* Morning the 6th of *July* arriv'd at *Chastres* near *Mont l'Hery*; from whence, without staying so much as to refresh himself, or to wait for the coming up of his whole Army, which was compos'd of the finest Horse, (considering their Number) that ever were seen, he march'd directly towards the *Burgundians*, whom he attack'd with so much Vigour and Intrepidity, (though but with a handful of Men,) that at the first Charge he broke and entirely defeated their Vanguard, of which a great Number were kill'd and taken Prisoners. As soon as the News of this Defeat had reach'd *Paris*, above 30000 sallied out of the Gates, some of which being Horse, scowr'd the Country round, defeating and taking several small Bodies of the flying *Burgundians*, as did also the

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Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns round Paris. The *Burgundians* lost in this Action great part of their Bag and Baggage; and the whole Damage they sustain'd, reckoning every thing, was computed to amount to 200000 Crowns of Gold. The King not being content with defeating the Enemies Vanguard, and hoping to gain a compleat Victory over them, without refreshing either himself or his Troops, once more attack'd, with only his own Guards and 400 Lances, a strong Party of *Burgundians* who had rallied under the Command of the Count de St. Paul, who did the Count de Charolois good Service that Day. The *Burgundians* gave the King's Troops a warm Reception, and being drawn up in Order of Battle, with their Cannon playing upon them, sorely gall'd them, and kill'd abundance of them, among whom were several Officers of the King's own Guard, who behav'd themselves handsomly during the whole Action, and stood firmly by the King, who was hard put to it that Day, and several times in Danger of his own Person; for he had but a handful of Men and no Cannon. The King was press'd so hard by the *Burgundians*, that he knew not which way to turn himself, and was forc'd to charge at the Head of his Troops during this Engagement; and though he had but a small Body with him, yet he still maintain'd his Ground; and if he had had a Reinforcement but of 500 frank Archers to have push'd the *Burgundians* when they began to give way, he would have gain'd the compleatest Victory over them that ever was known in the Memory of Man. The Count de Charolois lost all his Guards, and the King a great part of his; the Count de Charolois was twice taken Prisoner by Jeffery de St. Belin and Gilbert de Grassay, but was afterwards



wards rescued. Abundance of Men and Horses were killed that day, the greatest part of which were killed by the rascally *Burgundian* Foot, with their Pikes and other Weapons tipped with Iron, and not a few Men of Note fell on both sides. And after the Battel was over the Number of the Slain was computed at 3600 Men; and towards Night the *Scotch* Guards considering the Danger the King was in, and the great Loss they had sustained, and finding that the *Burgundians* were still pursuing those Squadrons they had already broken, took his Majesty, who had been in Arms all day, without eating and drinking, and much fatigued and dis-spirited, and conducted him safe to the Castle of *Mont l'Hery*; which was the reason that several in the Army, who knew nothing of the King's removing thither, and not knowing where to find him, reported he was either kill'd or taken Prisoner: Upon the News of which the greatest part of his Army ran away, and among the rest the Count *du Maine*, the Admiral *de Montauban*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and several other Officers, with about 800 Lances, without ever being engaged at all that day, by which means the *Burgundians* remained Masters of the Field of Battel, on which were found amongst the Slain several Persons of Quality and Distinction on the King's side, to wit, M. *Peter de Breze*, Knight and Seneschal of *Normandy*, *Jeffery de St. Belin* Bailiff of *Chaumont*, *Floquet* Bailiff of *Eureux*, besides several other Knights and Esqrs; The *Burgundians* also lost abundance of Men, and had more taken Prisoners than they took of the King's Army. After the King had refreshed himself a little at the Castle of *Mont l'Hery*, he marched with a strong Detachment of his Forces to *Corbeil*, where he stay'd till the

A. D. 1461. *Thursday* following, on which he arrived very late in the Evening at *Paris*, and sup'd that Night at M. *Charles de Meleun's* his Lieutenant-General, with several Lords and Ladies of his Court, besides several of the chief Citizens and their Wives, to whom his Majesty related the Particulars of the Action at *Mont l'Hery* in such moving and pathetick Terms, as drew Tears from the Eyes of the whole Company; adding withal, that he designed by the Blessing of God to attack the Enemy once more on the *Monday* following, and either die on the spot or drive them out of his Dominions; but he was advised not to hazard another Battel, considering the Cowardise and Desertion of his Troops; that would not stand by him in the late Engagement. However 'twas to no purpose, for he was a Prince of an undaunted Courage and Resolution.

ON *Friday* the 19th of *July* 1465 M. *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris*, with several Counsellors and Clergymen, went to wait on the King at his *Hotel des Tournelles*, and humbly besought his Majesty that he would be pleased to make choice of some wise and prudent Council to aid and assist him in the Administration of publick Affairs for the future, to which he graciously consented; and immediately it was order'd that 6 City Counsellors, 6 Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, and 6 Doctors of the University of *Paris*, should be added to the King's ordinary Council. And because the King found he had many Enemies in his Kingdom, they went upon Ways and Means to raise more Forces, and recruit those Regiments that had suffered most in the late Action of *Mont l'Hery*. In order to try how many Men they could raise in *Paris*, 'twas propos'd that the Number of the Inhabitants

tants of every Ward should be taken in Writing, and that each of them should furnish 10 Men, but there was nothing done in it. A. D. 1465.

UPON the King's Arrival at *Paris*, abundance of his Troops were forced to be quartered in the Villages round that City, *Brie*, and other neighbouring Places, where they committed great Disorders, not being content with eating and drinking on free Cost, but also plundering the Inhabitants of all they had, and seizing upon whatever they could find, tho' belonging to some of the Citizens of *Paris*. Nay, the King himself was under some Difficulties of raising a sufficient Sum of Money to pay those Forces he had in *Paris*, for some of the Princes that had taken up Arms against him were in Possession of those very Towns on which the Taxes assigned for that Use were to be levied, and they refusing to let any be raised in their Dominions, he was forced to borrow Money of his Officers and wealthy Citizens of *Paris*, some of which upon their refusal to lend him as much as he proposed, were immediately put out of all their Posts and Employments both Military and Civil, among the rest M. *John Cheneteau* Clerk in Parliament, M. *Martin Picard* Counsellor of the Exchequer, and several others.

ON *Wednesday* the 24th of *July* 1465 the King ordered the Bridge of *St. Maxence* to be broken down, upon Intelligence that the Lord *de Savoy* was marching with a great Body of Forces in order to beat out the King's Troops, and put a Garison of his own into it. On the same Day his Majesty gave the Command of it to *John l'Orfeure*, who was the Governor of it, and charged him to defend it to the last Extremity, which he did with so much Bravery and Resolution, that there was no occasion to break down



A. D. 1465. down the said Bridge: And on the Friday following the King ordered that 200 Lances under the Command of the Bastard d'Armaignac, Count de Comminges, the Sieur Giles de Symon Bailiff of Senlis, the Sieur de la Barde, and Charles des Mares, should stay at Paris; and on the same Day, at the Desire and Request of the Mayor of Paris and some Churchmen, his Majesty continued M. Charles de Meleun in his former Post of Lieutenant of the City.

AFTER the Battel of *Mont l'Hery* the Lords and Princes that were engaged in the Confederacy against the King, retired to *Estampes*, where they stay'd for the space of 15 Days, and upon their breaking up from thence, they marched towards *St. Mathurin de l'Archant*, *Moret in Gastinois*, *Provins*, and the Neighbourhood of those Countries; upon which the King having Intelligence of their Motions, throws small Bodies of Forces with some Cannon into *Meleun*, *Monstereau*, *Sens*, and other neighbouring Towns, to reinforce the Garisons, and make frequent Sallies whenever they had an opportunity of falling upon the Enemy.

ON Saturday the third of August 1465, the King being willing to oblige his good City of Paris by some singular Act of Grace and Favour, changed the Tax of the 4th Penny on retailed Wines to that of the 8th, and granted to all the Inhabitants the same Privileges they enjoyed in the Reign of his Father *Charles VII.* He also took off all the Taxes that had formerly been levied in the City, except those on Wood, Cattel and Cloth, sold by Wholesale, which were let out to the Farmers of the Revenue; and on the same Day it was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of Paris by *Dennis Hesselin* chief Collector of the Subsidies; upon

upon the News of which the common People were so over-joyed, that they flocked together from all Parts of the City, and filled the Streets with Bonfires and Acclamations of Joy.

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ABOUT this time the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* passed the *Seine* and the *Yonne* upon a Bridge of Boats, which were brought from *Moret* in *Gastinois* and other Places. *M. Salezart* with a Brigade of Marshal *Joachim's* Regiment had posted himself on the other side to dispute the Passage with them, but finding himself too weak, and having no Cannon (of which the Enemy had great Store) he thought fit to retire upon their Approach. The *Burgundians*, to favour the Passage of their Troops, cannonaded the Enemy all the while, and killed abundance of the King's Men, at last a random Shot took off a Page's Arm, struck a Gentleman named *Pamabel*, a Relation of Marshal *Joachim's*, in the Belly, and killed three Soldiers afterwards.

ON *Thursday* the 8th of *August* the Lord *de Pretigny*, one of the King's Counsellors, and President of the Exchequer, and *Chrystofle Paillart*, a Counsellor also of the same Court, arrived at *Paris* with an Answer to some Letters that the King had sent by them to the Duke of *Calabria*, who was then in *Auxerrois*; And on *Saturday* the 10th of the same Month the King set out from *Paris* in order to visit *Roan*, *Eureux*, and several other Places in *Normandy*, and lay that Night at *Ponthoise*; but before he left *Paris* he ordered several Companies of frank Archers that were newly arrived from *Normandy*, and about 400 Lances drawn out of the Regiments of the late *Floquet*, of the *Boulonnois*, of the late *Jeffery de St. Belin*, of the Lord *de Craon*, and the Lord *de la Barde*, to remain in Garison for the Defence of the City.

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ABOUT this time M. *John Berard*, Counsellor of the Court of Parliament, went over to the Duke of *Berry*, who was then in *Bretagne*, being highly disgusted at his Wife's being committed to Prison, and afterwards banished the City, for holding Correspondence with the said Duke, and the rest of the Princes, who were the King's open and professed Enemies.

ABOUT this time M. *Charles de Meleun*, who had hitherto been the King's Lieutenant of *Paris*, resigned his Place, which was immediately given to the Count d' *Eu*, but the King in consideration of the many Services M. *Charles de Meleun* had done, made him Steward of his Household, and gave him the Government of the Balliwick and Towns of *Eureux* and *Honnefleur*.

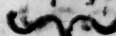
ABOUT this time also a Party of *Burgundians* and *Bretons*, who had been refreshing themselves in the Town of *Provins*, returned to *Laigny* upon the *Marne*, and the Friday following they came and took up their Quarters at *Creteil*, a House upon the *Seine*, *Cheelle Sainte*, *Bapteur*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood. And because the *Parisians* were fearful that the *Burgundians* would once more invest *Paris*, there being a Report that M. *Gerauld* their chief Engineer had given out that he designed to erect a Battery in the Lay-stall before the Gates of *St. Dennis* and *St. Anthony*, in order to bombard the Town, and at the same time to make a Breach in the Walls, they caused an Order to be immediately published, by which every one was obliged to repair the next Morning to the Lay-stall with a Pick-ax and Shovel, to break it up, and render it unfit to erect a Battery on, and accordingly the Order was put in execution, but what they did signified little or nothing, so that they were forced to build a great many



many Sheds, erect Bulwarks, and throw up Trenches, to cover and defend the City, as also the Soldiers employed in its Defence.

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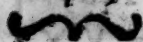
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ON the Monday following the same Party of *Burgundians* and *Bretons* that were quartered at *Creteil* and thereabouts, being joined by some more Forces of their own Country, came to *Pont de Charenton*, where they erected a Battery, and began to play upon the Tower that defended it, upon which the Garison, without making the least Opposition, retired to *Paris*, and the *Burgundians* and *Bretons* took Possession of it, and in the Evening on the same Day they appeared before *Paris*, in which several of them were taken Prisoners, and two of the frank Archers of *Caen* kill'd. And that Night a Body of *Burgundians* and *Bretons* amounting to about 4000 Men, came and encamped in a Park belonging to *Bois de Vincennes*. The Tuesday following the Count d'*Eu* sent one M. de *Rambures* to the Princes to know their Intentions, and the next Day he returned to *Paris*, but the Answer they made him was kept very secret; and the same Day the *Burgundians* came before *Paris*, upon which the *Parisians* made a Sally, but scarce any Action happened between them, only one of the frank Archers of *Alençon* happened to be kill'd by a random Shot.

ON Thursday the 22d of August the Duke of Berry, who had taken up his head Quarters at *Beaulce*, with several other Princes near allied to him, sent his Heralds with four Letters to *Paris*, one to the Citizens, one to the University, one to the Ecclesiasticks, and one to the Court of Parliament. The Contents of which were in short, that he and the rest of the Princes engaged in the same Confederacy had taken up Arms for the publick Good of the Kingdom, and

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and that if they would make choice of 5 or 6 able Men with the Character of Commissioners to treat and confer with them, he would let 'em know the Reasons that had induced him and the rest of the Princes to appear in this open and hostile manner. Accordingly, in pursuance of these Letters, the following Commissioners were deputed to wait on the Princes to hear what they had to propose. On the Part of the City were chosen M. *John Choart* the Civil Lieutenant of the *Chastellet* of *Paris*, M. *Francis Hasle* Advocate in Parliament, and *Arnold Lullier* Banker of *Paris*. The Church of *Paris* made choice of M. *Thomas de Courcelles* Dean of *Paris*, M. *John de Lolive* Doctor of Divinity, and M. *Eustace Lullier* Advocate in Parliament. For the Court of Parliament were chosen M. *John de Boulengier*, M. *John de Sellier* Archdeacon of *Brie*, and M. *James Fournier*. And by the University for the Sciences in general were chosen M. *James Minglisant*, for Divinity M. *John Lullier*, for the Law M. *John Montigny*, and for Physick M. *Auerant de Parenti*; and all these Commissioners were introduced and presented to the Princes by *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris*.

ON Saturday following all the above-mention'd Commissioners sat in the Town-House, where several Persons of Quality and Distinction were assembled on purpose to hear what Proposals the Princes had made them, but they came to no manner of Conclusion that Morning; however it was agreed that in the Afternoon the whole Body of the University, Church, Court of Parliament, and the chief Magistrates, should meet together, to take into Consideration what the Princes had proposed to the Commissioners. At this Meeting, after some debate, they unanimously agreed, that the calling

ling an Assembly of the three Estates of the Kingdom; which was the chief thing the Princes insisted on, was highly just and reasonable; that they would consent to supply their Army with Provisions for Money, and that they should have free Admittance into *Paris*, provided they could give them any Security that neither they nor their Soldiers would commit any Act of Hostility within the Town to the Prejudice of the Inhabitants, and the King consented to it. After which the Commissioners went a second time to wait on the Princes, and acquaint them with their final Resolution. During the whole time that this Assembly were sitting in Council, all the Cross-bow Men and Archers were drawn up before the Town-Hall, to hinder the Mob from crouding and disturbing them, as they would certainly have done, had they not been prevented by this means.

ON the same Day there was a Review made of all the King's Forces in *Paris*, which made a very fine Appearance. First of all marched the Archers of *Normandy* on foot, these were followed by the Archers on horseback, and last of all came the Men at Arms belonging to the Companies of the Count *d'Eu*, the Lord *de Craon*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and the Bastard of *Maine*, which might make in all about 500 Men, well arm'd and mounted, without reckoning the Foot, which were about 1500 or better. And on the same Day the King wrote Letters to *Paris*, by which he acquainted the Inhabitants of his being at *Chartres* with his Uncle the Duke *du Maine*, and abundance of Soldiers with him, and of his Resolution of coming to *Paris* on the *Tuesday* following. In the Afternoon the Admiral *de Montaulban* arrived at *Paris* with a good Body of Troops, and towards the Evening the Duke



A. D. 1465. Duke of *Berry* broke up from *Beaulce*, and marched towards *St. Dennis*, but being told by some of his Officers that were with him, that *Beaulce* was a much safer Place for him to be in than *St. Dennis*, which lay too near the Enemy, and upon hearing the News of the King's coming to *Paris*, he marched back to his old Quarters.

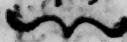
ON the *Wednesday* following the King came to *Paris*, attended by his Uncle the Duke du *Maine*, the Lord de *Pantheure*, and several other Officers of Note; he also brought back the fine Train of Artillery he carried with him, and a great Number of Pioneers from *Normandy*, which were all quartered in his *Hotel de St. Paul*. And when the King made his Entry into *Paris* he was received with the universal Shouts and Acclamations of the People, and the next Day very early in the Morning the *Burgundians* and the *Bretons* planting themselves over-against the Tower of *Billy*, saluted him with a triple discharge of their Cannon, accompanied with Drums, Trumpets, Clarions, and other Warlike Instruments of Musick. The same thing they did also over-against the *Bastille St. Antoine*, shouting and huzzaing, and crying out, to Arms, to Arms, which put the whole City into a dreadful Consternation, and immediately they mounted the Walls, and prepared all things for a vigorous Defence. In the Afternoon the *Burgundians* and *Bretons* appeared again before *Paris*, upon which a considerable Body of the King's regular Forces, with some Cannon and Field-pieces, were immediately ordered to march out of *Paris* to beat off the Enemy, who falling in with a Party of them, kill'd and took several Prisoners that Day.

ON *Saturday* the last of *August* the King went with a strong Guard as far as the Tower of *Bil-*

Billy, to take a View of the Enemy, and commanded the 400 Pioneers that came from Normandy to cross the *Seine*, and throw up a Trench over against the *Engliff* Port, and before the *Hotel de Conflans*, which was directly opposite to the Place where the *Burgundians* were posted, quite down to the River *Siene*. And because the *Burgundians* had given out that they design'd to pass that River, the King order'd a good Body of Troops to be posted there, to hinder them from laying a Bridge over it, and to dispute the Passage with them; and as soon as the Pioneers had pass'd the River, the King pass'd it also in a Ferry-Boat without alighting from his Horse.

ON Sunday the first of September the *Burgundians* laid a Bridge over the *Siene* at the *Engliff* Port, and just as they were preparing to pass it, a great Number of Frank-Archers and other Soldiers of the King's Party arriv'd there, who immediately planting some Cannon and Field-pieces at the end of the Bridge, fir'd briskly on the *Burgundians*, and oblig'd them to retire with the Loss of several Men kill'd and wounded; and a certain *Norman* swam a-cross the River, and cutting the Ropes with which the Bridge was fasten'd, it went cleverly down the Stream. A-bundance of Cannon was fir'd that Day from several Batteries that the *Burgundians* had erected; but from one especially, which play'd so briskly on the King's Troops that were posted at the *Engliff* Port, that they were forc'd to retire.

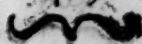
AND on the Tuesday following Ambassadors were chosen by the King and the *Burgundians*, in order to adjust the Difference between 'em. On the King's side were chosen the Duke du Maine, M. de Pretigny President of the Exchequer, and Mr. John Dauvet President of the Parliament

A. D. 1465.  liament of *Tholouse*; and the *Burgundians* chose the Duke of *Calabria*, the Count *de St. Paul*, and Count *de Dunois*. And as soon as they were nominated, and had receiv'd their Instructions, they went immediately upon the Business of Accommodation; and there was a Truce granted till the *Thursday* following, during which no Acts of Hostility were committed on either side; but both Parties took Care in the mean time to fortifie themselves, and make what Preparations they could, not knowing how Matters might happen.

ON *Monday* the 9th of *September* the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* march'd into the Territories of *Clingencourt*, *Montmatre*, *la Courtille*, and other Vineyards about *Paris*, where they spoil'd and destroy'd the whole Vintage, cutting down all the Grapes green as they were, to make Wine for present Drinking; upon which the *Parisians* were forc'd to do the same with all their Vineyards round *Paris* that had escap'd their Fury, though the Grapes were scarce half ripe, and 'twas not the usual Season for their Vintage, besides it was the worst Year for Vines that had been known in *France* for many Years; so that they call'd the Wine of this Year's Growth by the Name of *Burgundy*.

ABOUT this time several of the Nobility of *Normandy* arriv'd at *Paris* to serve the King in his Wars, all which had their Quarters assign'd them in the *Faux-bourg de St. Marcel*, amongst whose Retinue there were some particular Persons that committed great Thefts and Disorders; two of which were seiz'd by some of the Citizens as they were forcing their Way into the City, and upon the Citizens stopping them, the *Normans* began to abuse and rail at the Citizens, calling them Traitors and rebellious *Burgundians*;





*Burgundians*, vowing to be reveng'd of them, and telling them that they came from *Normandy* with no other Design but to plunder and destroy the whole City. Of which Words a Complaint being made, and an Information given by the said Citizens to the Mayor of *Paris*; the principal Offender, who spoke these dangerous Words, was condemn'd to the ignominious Punishment of walking bare-foot and bare-headed, with a lighted Torch in his Hand, through the Streets; and in the Publick Marget-place before the Town-House in this shameful Condition, to acknowledge his Offence before the Town-Clerk, and to ask the good Citizens of *Paris* Pardon and Forgiveness for what he had falsely and maliciously spoken, and afterwards to be bor'd through the Tongue and banish'd the City.

ON the Monday following the *Burgundians* came and shew'd themselves before *Paris*, amongst whom was the Count de *St. Paul*, to meet whom the King went out of *Paris*, and had a Conference together, which lasted two Hours, and as a Surety for the Count's safe Return, the King deliver'd up the Count du *Maine*, who staid in the *Burgundians* Army till the Return of the said Count de *St. Paul*.

AND on the same Day a great Council was held in the Exchequer-Chamber, at which amongst the other Officers and Magistrates of that Court, the sixteen (a) *Quarteniers*, the (b) *Cinquanteniers*, and some of the Counsellors belonging to the Court of Parliament, were pre-

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(a) Civil Officers, having the same Power and Authority in *Paris*, as an Alderman has in *London*, there being one to every Ward.

(b) Certain Officers or Magistrates in *Paris*, somewhat like our Aldermens Deputies in *London*.

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sent; to whom by the King's Order *Morvillier* Chancellor of *France* made a Speech, in which he acquainted them how honourably his Majesty had acquitted himself towards the Princes; and what generous Offers he had made them upon their demanding the Dutchy of *Guinne*, *Poitou*, with the Country of *Xainoigne*, or the Dutchy of *Normandy*, as an Appennage for the Duke of *Berry*. He farther told them, that the King's Council who were there present had inform'd the Princes that it was not in his Majesty's Power to give away or dismember any thing belonging to the Crown; and that since he was pleas'd to offer the Countries of *Campaigne* and *Brie*, reserving only to himself *Meaux*, *Monstereau* and *Meleun* in lieu of the said Appennage, they were of Opinion that the Duke of *Berry*ought not in Reason and Honour to refuse it. After this, the Assembly broke up, and (all Hopes of an Accommodation being vanish'd;) the Young Seneschal of *Normandy* was order'd out with 600 Horse to skirmish with the *Bretons* and *Burgundians*, who were drawn up in order of Battle on the other side of the *Seine*, and firing upon them, kill'd a Gentleman of *Poitou* belonging to M. *Panthieu's* Regiment call'd *John Canreau*, Lord de *Pampelie*.

ON the *Saturday* following at break of Day, one *Lewis Sorbier*, whom Marshal *Joachim Rouault* had left in *Ponthoise* as his Lieutenant, basely and treacherously betray'd his Trust; and suffer'd the *Bretons* and other Troops belonging to the Enemy, to possess themselves of the Town, having agreed with them before-hand, that whoever of the Marshal *Joachim's* Regiment refus'd to enter into their Service, should have the Liberty of marching out with their Bag and Baggage, without being examin'd or molested.

And

And as soon as he had deliver'd up *Ponthoife* into the Enemies Hands, he march'd with some of his Confederates to *Meulanc*; where, not believing that his Treason was already known, he thought that by shewing Marshal *Joachim's* Colours to have got an easie Admittance; but upon his Arrival at the Gates, the Inhabitants of *Meulanc*, who had been inform'd of his Treachery and were in Arms upon the Walls, cry'd out, *Get you gone vile and dispicable Traytor*, and fir'd their Cannon upon him and his Party, which oblig'd him to retire with the utmost Shame and Confusion to *Ponthoife*; and on Sunday by break of Day the Enemy came and gave the City an Alarm on the side of St. *Anthony's* Gate, and a great Body of 'em penetrated as far as St. *Anthoine des Champs*; and in order to dislodge them, several Cannon, Field-pieces and Culverins were fir'd, but there were no Sallies made.

ABOUT this time the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* who lay before *Paris* made Songs, Ballads, Lampoons, and other scandalous Verses on some of the chief Officers of the Court, which set the King so against them, that he turn'd them out of their Places. Neither did the King's own Soldiers, who were quarter'd in *Paris*, behave themselves much better; but spent their Time in all manner of Lewdness, debauching and seducing the Hearts of several Wives, Maids and Widows, who left their Children, Husbands, and Places, to follow and live with them.

IN the Evening M. *Balue* Bishop of *Eureux* was set upon by some People that ow'd him a spite, in the Street *de la Barre du Bec*, who at the first stroke beat the two Torches that were carried before him out of the Servants Hands, and afterwards they came up to the Bishop, who



A. D. 1465. being mounted on a stout Mule, carried him off cleverly to his own *Hotel* in the Cloister of *Nostre-Dame*; by which means he sav'd his Life, for his Servants who were afraid of being knock'd down, had quite forsaken him; however, before he made his Escape, he receiv'd two Wounds, one in his Hand, and another in one of his Fingers. The King was extremely concern'd at this Accident, and order'd a strict Enquiry to be made after the Assassines, but they were never discover'd.

ON the *Thursday* following there was a great Complaint made in the Town-House by some of the Citizens against the Soldiers, for having spoken and publish'd certain Words and Speeches of a dangerous Consequence to the Inhabitants. Among other things they boldly affirm'd, that neither the City of *Paris* nor any thing in it belong'd to the Inhabitants, but to them who were quarter'd in it; that they would have the Citizens know that the Keys of their Houses were at the Soldiers Disposal; that they would turn out the present Possessors and live in them themselves; and in short, if the Citizens pretended to make Resistance, they should find to their Sorrow they were able to conquer them. And the very same Day a foolish *Norman* said openly at *St. Dennis's Gate*, that the *Parisians* were very weak to think that chaining up their Streets would signify any thing against the Forces of their Country. A Report of these dangerous and insolent Words being made to some of the Officers of the Town-House, they immediately issued out an Order, commanding several Streets to be chain'd up, and that every *Quartenier* of *Paris* should cause great Fires to be made in every Ward under his Jurisdiction, and that one of 'em should be in Arms upon the

the Watch before the Town-House all Night, which was accordingly done. And that very Night there was a hot Report that the Gate of the *Bastille* Sr. *Anthoine* was left open on purpose to let in the *Bretons* and the *Burgundians* into the Town; and to confirm it the more, several Cannon were found nail'd up, and render'd unfit for Service.

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ON the *Friday* following Two Purservants at Arms arriv'd at *Paris*; one was dispatch'd from *Gisors* to acquaint the King of the weak Condition of that Place, which was wholly unprovided with every thing necessary for its Defence, and to let his Majesty know, that if he did not send them a speedy Supply of Men, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, they must be forc'd to surrender to a Body of 600 Horse that lay before the Town. The other Purservant was sent by one *Hugh des Vignes* a Man at Arms belonging to M. *de la Barde's* Regiment, and who at that time was at *Meulanc*, to inform the King that he was assur'd from very good Hands, that the *Bretons* had a Design of surprizing *Roan* as they did *Ponthoise*, if they were not prevented. And on the same Day the Ambassadors that were chosen on both sides, din'd together at St. *Anthoine des Champs* without *Paris*; and on the next Day the said Ambassadors on both sides were assembled again, but in two distinct Parties, that is to say, the Duke *du Maine* and those of his Party who were for the King, with the rest of the Lords and Princes, were all of them together at the *Grange-aux-Merciers*. There were also several others nominated by the King, who were at St. *Anthoine des Champs*, but notwithstanding this Meeting, very little Business was dispatch'd this Day.

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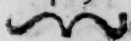
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IN the Afternoon the King receiv'd Letters from the Widow of the late *Peter de Breze*, by which she inform'd his Majesty of her having caus'd the Lord *Broquemont* Captain of the Palace at *Roan* to be apprehended, upon Suspicion of not being well affected to his Government, and having a Design to deliver it up to the *Bretons*; but that he should not give himself the least Pain about *Roan* for he would certainly find all the Citizens hearty and true to his Interest. The same Day in the Afternoon arriv'd the unwelcome News of the taking of *Roan* by the Duke of *Bourbon*, who enter'd the Town by the Castle of *Roan*, which was the weakest Side, and lay towards the Fields.

AS soon as the Princes that lay before *Paris* heard of the taking of *Roan*, they sent to acquaint the King, that his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, who was before contented with *Champagne* and *Brie*, would accept of no other Appennage than the Dutchy of *Normandy*; so that the King was forc'd, notwithstanding the former Agreement, to give the Duke of *Berry* the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and reserve for himself that of *Berry*. The Count *de Charolois* had for his Share the Towns of *Peronne*, *Roye* and *Mondidier*, for him and his Heirs for ever; besides, the King gave him during his Life all the Lands and Towns that were lately redeem'd for 400000 Crowns, and had been pawn'd to his Father *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, to which he added the Countries of *Guynes* and *Boulogne* to be enjoy'd by him and his Heirs for ever. He also gave to the Duke of *Calabria* a great Sum of Money, and lent him a certain Number of Troops which were to be paid by the King, and to be employ'd where-ever the Duke of *Calabria* thought fit. The Duke of *Bourbon* was to have the same Pension,





Pension, and the same Quota of Troops allow'd him, that he formerly had in the Reign of the late King *Charles*, besides the Remainder of his Wife's Marriage-Dower, which was left unpaid; and this was all he demanded. The Count *de St. Paul* was restor'd to all his Places that had been taken from him during this unhappy Rupture between the King and the Princes, and a considerable Pension settled upon him for Life. The Count *de Dampmartin* was also restor'd to all his Lands and Possessions that were confiscated by a Decree in Parliament, and had considerable Presents made him by the King. As for the other Lords, they had every one of 'em a large Share, and departed well satisfied with what they had got.

AND on *Tuesday* the first of *October* a Peace was proclaim'd between the King and the Princes; and that Day the Count *de St. Paul* came to *Paris*, and having din'd with the King was conducted into the Town-House, where he was created Constable of *France*, and took the Oaths accordingly. And on the same Day the King order'd a Proclamation to be issued out, by which free Leave was granted to all the Inhabitants to supply and furnish the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* with whatever Necessaries they wanted; upon which Proclamation several Merchants of *Paris* immediately sent a great quantity of all sorts of Provision into the Fields before *St. Anthony's Gate*, which was quickly bought up, especially the Wine and the Bread, by the whole Army, who instantly repair'd thither half-starv'd, and in a miserable Condition, with their thin lank Cheeks over-grown with Hair, and full of Lice and Nastiness; and the greatest part of them without Stockings or Shoes. But every one will be amaz'd at the inconceivable Strength

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and Richness of *Paris*, which was able to maintain 400000 Horse, including the *Burgundians*, *Bretons*, *Calabrians*, *Picardians*, and the rest of the Enemies Forces for a long time, and plentifully to supply them, without ever raising the Price of any manner of Provision; nay, immediately after the Enemy had left it, things were sold cheaper than they were before; and the whole *Thursday* following was spent in victualing the *Burgundian* Camp. The same Day the King went to make a private Visit to the Count *de Charolois* near *Conflans*, which was look'd upon by all Persons that had a Respect and Concern for his Majesty, as a very indiscreet Action; nay, the very *Picardians* themselves, and the rest of the Army could not forbear reflecting upon him, and breaking their Jest upon the *Parisians* after this manner, *Here take your King, who has at last submitted to the Count de Charolois, and meanly condescended to visit him in private; in a little time we shall have him at our Command.*

ON *Friday* the 4th of the same Month the King gave Orders for the Admittance of the *Burgundians* into the City through *St. Anthony's Gate*, who upon that Permission came in large Bodies, and committed several Riots and Disorders, which certainly they would never have done, had they not been encourag'd by the King's late Condescension in visiting the Count *de Charolois* in so private a manner.

ON the *Sunday* following several Men of Quality and Officers of the Army came and supp'd with the King at *Paris* in an *Hotel* belonging to *M. John Lullier* the Town-Clerk, at which Entertainment several Ladies of Quality and Distinction were also present.

AND in this Month of *October* a Detachment of the Count *de Charolois's* Troops came before  
*Beauvais*

*Beauvais* and summon'd the Town to surrender; upon which the Inhabitants set down the Summons in Writing, and sent it to the King, who immediately sent it to the Count *de Charolois*, with whom he had lately concluded a Peace. The Count *de Charolois* sent back Word to the King, that he knew nothing of the Summons; and that whosoever had done it, did it without his Knowledge or Order. The King return'd a very civil Answer to the Count *de Charolois*, and told him it was not a fair way of Proceeding; that for the future, in pursuance of the Articles of Peace that was lately concluded between them, he must forbear committing such Acts of Hostility; and that if he had a mind to *Beauvais* he should have it.

ON the *Thursday* following several Waggon-Loads of Gold and Silver for the Payment of the Count *de Charolois*'s Troops arriv'd in the *Burgundian* Camp under a strong Convoy both of Horse and Foot commanded by the Lord *de Saveuses*; and on the same Day the Duke of *Bretagne* and the King came to an Agreement in relation to the Affair that was between them, by which Compact the King was oblig'd to restore the County of *Monfort*, and several others; besides a vast Sum of Money to pay that very Army, which he, in Conjunction with the rest of the Princes, had rais'd to invade the King's Dominions. The next Day M. *John le Boulenger* President of the Court of Parliament was sent by the King's Order to the Town-House to acquaint the Mayor and Aldermen of *Paris* that the *Burgundians* had a Design to review their Army that Day before the City-Gates, and to desire them to acquaint the Common People with it, lest they should be surpriz'd and astonish'd to see them thus drawn up against the Town. But after all, the Re-



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view was not made in sight of *Paris* that Day, but from *Pont de Charenton* to *Bois de Vincennes*, whither the King, attended only by the Count *de Charolois*, the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Count *de St. Paul*, very imprudently went to see the Review. As soon as the Review was over, the King came back by Water to *Paris*, and the Count *de Charolois* upon his taking Leave of his Majesty, in the Presence of those Lords that attended the King thither, made the following Acknowledgement in these Words, *My Lords, You and I are Subjects to the King here present, our Lord and Sovereign, and ought to serve him whenever he pleases to command us.*

Not long before this, the King had receiv'd a private Information of a Design form'd by some of his Enemies either to kill him or seize upon his Person; upon which he immediately order'd his Guards to be doubled great Fires to be made every Night in the Streets, the Number of the Watch to be augmented as well upon the Walls, as in the Streets, and took all the Care imaginable to prevent their Designs and secure his own Person: and upon hearing of the Surrender of *Caen* and several other Towns in *Normandy*, he immediately re-inforc'd the Garison of *Mante* with a considerable Body of Men at Arms and Frank-Archers.

ON *Tuesday* the 22d of *October* the King made a private Visit to the Princes at the *Gange-aux-Merciers*, where all but the Duke of *Berry* were met together, and the next Day the Duke of *Bourbon* had a long Conference with the King in a Place without the Gates of *Paris* on this side of the Ditch of the *Gange de Ruilly*.

ON the *Saturday* following the Count *de Charolois* with a small Detachment left the Army, having first caus'd an Order to be publish'd

in

in his Camp, by which all Soldiers were oblig'd under Pain of death to hold themselves in a readiness to march against the *Liegeois*, who with Fire and Sword had invaded his Territories. Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the Duke de Berry lay ill of a Fever at *St. Maur des Fosses*, but being pretty well recovered of his Illness by Wednesday the 30th of October, and able to go abroad, he went to wait upon the King at *Bois de Vincennes*, where he did Homage to him for the Dutchy of Normandy, which the King gave him for his Appennage; and on the same day the Articles of Peace between the King and the Princes were read and published in the Court of Parliament, and ordered to be register'd in the same Court.

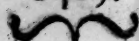
AND on the Thursday following the Duke of Berry, the Count de Charolois and the rest of the Princes separated, and went different ways. The Duke of Berry, whom the King waited on some part of the way to *Ponthoise*, went into Normandy; and afterwards the King and the Count de Charolois retired to *Villiers le Bel*, where they stay'd 2 or 3 days, and from thence the Count marched with all speed thro' Picardy to make War upon the *Liegeois*.

ON the Monday following M. Robert Destouteville Lord of Beine, who was Mayor of Paris in the Reign of the late King Charles, and had been displaced by the King upon his Accession to the Crown, was restor'd to his former Office, which had been given to James de Villiers Lord of Lisle Adam, and that day he sat in the Town-House as Mayor, and dispatch'd a great deal of the King's Business.

ON Thursday the 7th of November 1465 M. Robert Destouteville was conducted to the Chastellet of Paris by M. Charles de Meleun and M.

John

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*John Dauvet* first President of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, whom the King had acquainted with the said *Robert Destouteville's* having taken the Oaths already as Mayor of *Paris* in the room of *James de Villiers*, whom upon his first Accession to the Crown he had advanced to that Office. And after the Letters Patents by which the King appointed and constituted the said *Robert Destouteville* Mayor of *Paris* were read, he was immediately put into Possession of his Office, without giving the said *Villiers* any time to lodge an Appeal against him.

ON Saturday the 9th of November M. *Peter Morvillier* Chancellor of *France* resigned the Seals, and was succeeded in the Chancellorship by *Juvenal des Ursins*, who was in the same Post at the Death of the late King *Charles VII.*

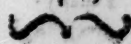
ABOUT this time also the King made several Alterations and Promotions in his Court, amongst the rest he turn'd M. *Peter Puy* out of his Office of Master of the Requests, and gave it to M. *Regnault des Dormans.*

AFTER the settling of this Affair the King went to *Orleans*, and took with him *Arnold Lullier* Banker and Citizen of *Paris*, whom he commanded to attend him during his Stay there; he also carried along with him M. *John Longuejoye* the younger, who was newly married to *Madam Genevieve* Daughter of M. *John Baillet*, and made him one of his Counsellors of State. Before he left *Paris* he made M. *Charles d'Orgemont* Lord of *Mery* Treasurer of *France*, *Arnold Lullier* Treasurer of *Carcassonne*, and M. *Peter Ferteil* Comptroller of his Household.

THE King during his Stay at *Orleans* made several Acts, Laws and Ordinances, turned out several Officers of the Army, and gave their Commissions to others, amongst the rest he took away



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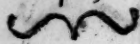


away the Command of 100 Lances from *Poncet de Riviere*, and made him Bailiff of *Mont Fer-rant*, upon which in a Disgust he went beyond Sea, and visited *Jerusalem*, and the holy Hill of *St. Catharine*. Several other Officers had their Commissions taken from them, and given to others that did not so well deserve them. The King also restored *Monsieur de Lobeac* Marshal of *France* to all his former Places in the Government, some of which had been given to the Count de *Comminges* Bastard of *Armaignac*; and after he had settled these Regulations, he leaves *Orleans*, and marches with his whole Army and Artillery directly into *Normandy* towards *Argenten*, *Exmes*, *Falaiz*, *Caen*, and other Places, in order to reduce them to his Obedience, where he found the Duke of *Bretagne*, who stay'd there some time with his Majesty.

A little after this the Duke of *Berry* went from *Roan* to *Louviers*, thinking to find the Duke of *Bourbon* there, but being disappointed of meeting him, he immediately came back again. Upon his Return to *Roan* he was with great Pomp and Ceremony conducted into the Town-House by the Magistrates of the City, who, according to the usual Custom of the Place, acknowledg'd him for their Duke by putting a Ring on his Finger; afterwards he took an Oath to maintain and support them in their Privileges and Franchises, and immediately remitted them half the Taxes they were formerly used to pay. This Act of Generosity won the Hearts of the whole City, and so firmly united them to his Interest, that the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and the common People, vow'd to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in his Service, and to remain faithful and loyal Subjects for ever. And afterwards they presented him an old Book of Records

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cords that was in the Town-House, and made him read an Article in it aloud before all the People, which gave an Account of a King of *France* heretofore who at his Death left two Sons, the eldest of which succeeded his Father, and the youngest had the *Dutchy of Normandy* for his Appennage; how that the elder Brother as soon as he was settled in his Kingdom, demanded a Restitution of the said *Dutchy*, and being denied, how he made War upon his younger Brother, and thought to have taken it from him by Force, but his Subjects unanimously joining with him, they dethroned his Brother the King of *France*, and set up their Duke for King. After he had done reading, they boldly told him, they feared nothing; that their Fortifications were strong and in good Repair; that they had great store of Cannon, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, and could upon occasion make a brave Defence, assuring him they would one and all to a Man stand by him, and defend him, themselves and the Town against any Opposers whatsoever.

ON the 30th of *December* of the same Year the King in his Return from lower *Normandy* arrived at *Ponthaudemer*, and from thence marched into the County of *Neufbourg*, from whence he detach'd the Duke of *Bourbon* with a Body of Forces to summon *Louviers*, which surrender'd the *Wednesday* following, and the Duke of *Bourbon* took Possession of it for the King, into which his Majesty made a publick Entry the same Day after Dinner. From *Louviers* the King marched to a Town called *du Pont des Archers*, about 4 Leagues from *Raan*, which he formally besieged.

ON *Monday* the 6th of *January* a Proclamation was issued out at *Paris*, commanding all the  
Sutlers

Sutlers that were used to supply the Army with Provisions, to repair immediately to the Camp before *du Pont des Archers*, and all the Prisoners were ordered to be ready by the next Morning, to set out for the same Place under the Command of M. *Denis*, one of the four Aldermen of the City, who was appointed to take care of them.

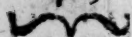
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ON the *Wednesday* following the King enter'd *du Pont des Archers*, and M. *John Hebert* with several others who were in the Town retired to the Castle, which 3 Days after was also surrender'd to the King. After the Surrender of the Town and Castle the Citizens of *Roan* sent Deputies to treat of an Accommodation, who highly complained of the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Bretagne*. And amongst other Requests and Remonstrances that the said Deputies were ordered to make to the King, one was, that his Majesty would be pleased to be reconciled to 'em, notwithstanding what they had done; that he would openly declare that they had not been wanting in their Duty, nor acted contrary to his Interest, and that he would grant them the same Privileges and Immunities he had granted his good City of *Paris*, to which his Majesty answered, he would consult his Council about it.

WHILST this Affair was in Agitation several of the King's Party had free Admittance into *Roan*, and conversed familiarly with the Citizens; in the mean time the Duke of *Berry* and several of his Adherents retir'd to *Honnefleure* and *Caen*, where they stay'd for some time. During these Transactions M. *John de Lorraine* thought to have made his Escape into *Flanders*, but was taken and brought before the King, who disposed of most of the Offices belonging to the Duchy of *Normandy*, putting in new Officers, and turning



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turning out the old ones. And after the Duke of Berry's leaving *Roan* the City was reduced to the King's Obedience, upon which the King dismissed all his frank Archers from his Service till the first of *March* following, sent all his Artillery to *Paris*, and retired to *Mount St. Michael* in lower *Normandy*. About that time the King gave the Command of 100 Lances which belong'd to *M. Charles de Meleun* to the Count de *Dampmartin*, who was with him; and not long after deprived him of his Office of High Steward of his Household, and gave it to *M. de Craon*; however several People were of opinion that *M. Charles de Meleun* had done the King signal Services, and been very faithful to him, especially in his great Care and Defence of *Paris* in the King's Absence in *Bourbonnois*, which he managed and regulated so well, that many sincerely believe that the Preservation of that City and the whole Kingdom is in some measure owing to his Conduct and Vigilance in that Affair.

ABOUT that time the King commanded *Chau-mont* upon the *Loire* (belonging to *M. Peter de Amboise* Lord of the same Place) to be burnt; and it was accordingly done.

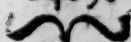
ON *Monday* the 3<sup>d</sup> of *February* one *Gauvain Manniel* Lieutenant-General of the Bailiwick of *Roan*, was taken in the City and carried Prisoner to *Pont de l'Arche*, and there upon a Scaffold erected near the Town-Bridge, was beheaded by the Provost-Marshal for High-Treason, his Head fixed on a Lance on the same Bridge, and his Body thrown into the River *Seine*. Just after this the Dean of *Roan* and 6 Canons were banished the City, and expell'd the Dutchy of *Normandy*.

AFTER this the King went to *Orleans*, where he stay'd a considerable time with the Queen, and

and then retir'd to *Jargeau* and the Neighbourhood of that Place, where Ambassadors from several Potentates upon different Affairs came to wait upon his Majesty; and about that time he resolv'd to send an Embassy to the King of *England*, and accordingly the Count de *Roussillon* Bastard of *Bourbon* and Admiral of *France*, the Lord de *la Barde*, the Bishop and Duke of *Langres*, M. *John de Pompaincourt*, and M. *Oliver le Roye* one of the Counsellors of the Exchequer, were chosen to go in that Embassy, and they set out for *England* in April 1466.

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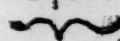
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ON Saturday *Whitsun-Eve* an Order was published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of *Paris* by the Command of the Constable of *France*, in which Order was inserted the Royal Mandate he had newly received from the King, the Substance of which was, that the King (having received certain Advice that the *English*, his ancient Enemies, had a design to invade the Kingdom of *France* with a powerful Army, and for that Descent were fitting out a strong Squadron of Men of War) was resolv'd to make what Preparations he could to oppose and defeat their Designs, and therefore had given full Power and Command to his Constable of *France* to make Proclamation of it in all the Cities, Towns, Villages and Hamlets of the Kingdom, in order that all the Nobility and Gentry holding any Lands by Homage or Fealty of the Crown, not excepting the frank Archers, should be ready in Arms by the 15th of *June* following, under Pain of Imprisonment and Confiscation of Goods.

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At the same time a Peace was concluded with the *English* both by Sea and Land, which was publickly proclaimed; and about that time also the Duke *du Maine* was for some secret reason turned

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turned out of his Government of *Languedoc* by the King, which was given to the Duke of *Bourbon*.

AFTER the Consummation of Marriage between the Admiral of *France* and the King's natural Daughter, the King gave the said Admiral the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, which was look'd upon to be the strongest Place in the whole Kingdom, with the Government of *Hondefleur*, and several other Places in *Normandy*.

IN *July* several Prelates, Lords, Churchmen, and Counsellors, that the King had sent for to make some new Regulations in all the Courts of Justice, and to reform some Abuses, arrived at *Paris*, to whom the King gave full Power and Authority, and by virtue of the same he nominated and appointed 21 Commissioners, of which *M. Charles d'Orleans*, Count de *Dunois* and *Longueville* was chief and first Commissioner, and even these Commissioners had no Powers of acting, unless 13 of 'em, besides their President the Count de *Dunois* and *Longueville*, were assembled together; and in pursuance of the Commission that had been granted them they began their Sittings on *Tuesday* the 16th, and were called by the People the *Reformers of the Nation*. This was just a Year since the Battel between the King and the Count de *Charolois* at *Mont l'Hery*.

ABOUT this time a War broke out between the *Liegeois* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon which he immediately took the Field with his whole Army, and being a little indisposed, was carried in a Litter, commanding his Son the Count de *Charolois*, with all the Nobles and Officers that were with him, to march forward with a strong Detachment to invest *Dinant*, and leave him to come up with the rest of the Army. Upon his Arrival the Town was formally besieged,



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besieged, which occasioned several Sallies and bloody Actions on both sides, much to the Disadvantage of the *Burgundians* in the beginning of the Siege, but at last, whether by Force of Arms or Treason, the Town was taken by the *Burgundians*, who, only reserving a few of the chief Citizens, whom they made Prisoners of War, turned out Men, Women and Children, and gave it up to be plunder'd by their Soldiers. Nor were they contented with this, they set fire to the Churches and the Houses, and having burnt and consumed every thing they could lay their Hands on, they ordered the Walls to be demolished, and the Fortifications to be blown up, by which means the poor Inhabitants were reduced to extreme Want and Necessity, and abundance of young Women were forc'd to betake themselves to a vile and shameful way of living.

IN *August* and *September* in the same Year the Heats were so violent as to breed the Plague, and several other contagious Distempers in *France*, which swept away in a little Space of Time above 40000 People in *Paris* and the neighbouring Towns. Some Persons of Note and Learning died also of it, amongst whom we may reckon M. *Arnoul* the King's Astrologer, a very worthy, learned, and facetious Person, several eminent Physicians, and abundance of Officers belonging to the City.

DURING the Plague the King and his Council stay'd at *Orleans*, *Chartres*, *Bourges*, *Mehun*, and *Amboise*, and during his Abode in that Neighbourhood he received several Embassies from foreign Princes and States, especially from *England* and *Burgundy*, and 'twas there he declared in Council his Resolutions of making War upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Son the Count

A. D. 1466. *de Charolois*, upon which the *Ban* and *Arriere-Ban* were ordered to be raised, and a considerable Augmentation to be made to the Body of frank Archers.

AFTER this Affair was dispatch'd the King made several new Ordinances and Establishments for the better Defence of his Kingdom, and the garison'd Towns in it, and accordingly he made the Marshal *de Lohéac* his Lieutenant of *Paris* and the *Isle of France*, *M. de Geilon* had the Government of *Champagne*, and the Government of *Normandy* was given to the Count *de St. Paul* Constable of *France*, who formerly was the King's Enemy, and had joined with the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Count *de Charolois*.

SOME Time after this, in *February* 1466, an Ambassador from *Bretagne* arrived at *Paris*, who after he had had Audience of the King set out for *Flanders* to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *de Charolois* his Son. The many Civilities that the King shew'd this Ambassador made some Persons of Note imagine that the Affair between the King and his Brother was amicably adjusted, at which they were extremely glad.

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IMMEDIATELY after this the King set out from *Paris*, in order to visit *Roan* and several other Places in *Normandy*, and during his Stay at *Roan* he sent for the Earl of *Warwick* out of *England*, and went by Water, attended by several of his Nobility, as far as *Bouille*, to meet him, which was situated on the *Seine*, about 4 Leagues from *Roan*. He arrived there on the 7th of *June* about Dinner-time, where he found a magnificent Entertainment ready prepar'd for him and his Nobility, and after Dinner the Earl of *Warwick* came to pay his Complement to the King, after which he went to *Roan* by Water, and the King

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King and his Nobility by Land. The Magistrates of *Roan* in their Formalities were order'd to go out to meet the Earl of *Warwick*, and receive him upon his Landing at the Key-Gate of *St. Eloy* with abundance of Pomp and Ceremony, bearing before him Crosses, Banners, holy Water Bottles, and the Relicks of several Saints, attended by the Priests in their Copes, and after this manner he was conducted to the Church of *Nostre Dame*, where he made his Offering, and from thence to a magnificent Apartment prepared for him in one of the religious Houses. Soon after this the Queen and the young Princesses came to *Roan*, and the King stay'd there with the Earl of *Warwick* about a Fortnight, after which the Earl took Leave of his Majesty, and returned to *England*, accompanied by the Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Laon*, M. *John de Pompaincount*, M. *Olivier le Roux*, and several others, whom the King had ordered to wait on him thither.

THE King presented the Earl of *Warwick* during his Stay at *Roan* with several valuable and rich Presents, amongst the rest a Piece of Gold Plate, and a large Gold Cup set with precious Stones. The Duke of *Bourbon* also presented him with a fine Diamond, and several other Things of value, besides he and his whole Retinue had all their Expences born by the King from their first landing in *France* to their embarking for *England*. After the Earl's Departure the King returned from *Roan* to *Chartres*, where he stay'd some time; and in this Month died *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Body was carried with great Solemnity to *Dijon*, and interred in the Church of the *Carthusians*.

IMMEDIATELY after this the King ordered a Proclamation to be published, by which (in order



A. D. 1461. der to re-people his good City of *Paris*, that had been greatly diminished by War, Sicknes, and other Misfortunes) his Majesty gave Leave to Strangers of all Nations, of what Crimes soever they had been guilty, except High-Treason, to come and settle in the City, Suburbs or Precincts thereof, promising to grant 'em the same Privileges as his own Subjects, and to defend and protect 'em, even not excepting those that had been banished to *St. Maloes* and *Valenciennes*. At the same time also by Sound of Trumpet was publish'd an Order, commanding all the Nobles and Gentry holding any Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty, even not excepting those of the Isle of *France*, as well in *Paris* as elsewhere, to be ready in Arms by the 15th of *August*.

ABOUT this time the Admiral of *France*, and those that were ordered by the King to wait on the Earl of *Warwick* into *England*, return'd, where they had stay'd a long while without doing any thing, and brought with them some Hunting-Horns and Leathern-Bottles, as a Present from the King of *England* to the King of *France*, in return for all the valuable ones his Majesty and the Duke of *Bourbon* had made the Earl of *Warwick* at his Departure from *Roan*. And on *Friday* the 18th of *August* the King arrived at *Paris* about 9 at Night, attended by the Duke of *Bourbon* and several of the Nobility.

ON *Tuesday* the first of *September* the Queen also came from *Roan* to *Paris* by Water, and landed at *Nostre Dame*, where her Majesty was received by all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, the Bishop of *Paris*, and several Persons of Quality in their Robes and Formalities. There was also a certain Number of Persons richly dressed to complement her on the Part of the City, and abundance of the chief

chief Citizens and Counsellors of *Paris* went by Water to meet her Majesty in fine gilded Boats covered with Tapestry and rich Silks, in which were placed the Choiristers of the holy Chapel, who sung Psalms and Anthems after a most heavenly and melodious manner. There was also a great Number of Trumpets, Clarions, and other softer Instruments of Musick, which altogether made a most harmonious Consort, and began playing when the Queen and her Maids of Honour entered the Boat, in which the Citizens of *Paris* presented her Majesty with a large Stag made in Sweet-meats, besides a vast quantity of Salvers heaped up with Spices and all sorts of delicious Fruits, Roses, Violets, and other Perfumes being strewed in the Boat, and as much Wine as every Body would drink. After the Queen had performed her Devotions to the blessed Virgin she came back to her Boat, and went by Water to the *Celestins* Church Gate, where she found abundance of Persons of Quality more, ready to receive her Majesty, who immediately upon her landing, with her Maids of Honour, mounted upon fine easy Pads, and rode to the *Hotel des Tournelles*, where the King was at that time, and where she was received with great Joy and Satisfaction by his Majesty and the whole Court, and that Night there were publick Rejoycings and Bonfires in *Paris* for her Majesty's safe Arrival.

ON the 14th of *September* the King, who had ordered the *Parisians* to make Standards, published a Proclamation, commanding all the Inhabitants from 16 to 60, of what Rank or Condition soever, to be ready to appear in Arms that very day in the Fields, and that those that were not able to provide themselves with Helms, Brigandines, &c. should come arm'd with

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great Clubs, under Pain of death; which Orders were punctually obeyed, and the greatest part of the Populace appeared in Arms, ranged under their proper Standard or Banner in good order and discipline, amounting to 80000 Men, 30000 of which were armed with Coats of Mail, Helmets and Brigandines, and made a very fine Appearance. Never did any City in the World furnish such a vast Number of Men, for it was computed there were 67 Banners or Standards of Tradesmen, without reckoning those of the Court of Parliament, Exchequer, Treasury, Mint, and Chastellet of *Paris*, which had under them as many or more Soldiers than what belonged to the Tradesmens Banners. A prodigious quantity of Wine was ordered out of *Paris* to comfort and refresh this vast Body of Men, which took up a vast Tract of Ground, extending themselves from the end of the Lay-stall between St. Anthony's Gate and that of the *Temple* as far as the Town-ditch upwards to the Winepress, and from thence along the Walls of St. *Anthoine des Champs* to the *Grange de Ruilly*, and from thence to *Conflans*, and from *Conflans* back again by the *Grange-aux-Merciers*, all along the River *Seine* quite to the Royal Bulwark over against the Tower of *Billy*, and from thence all along the Town-ditch on the outside to the *Bastille* and St. Anthony's Gate. In short, 'twas almost incredible to tell what a vast Number of People there were in Arms before *Paris*, yet the Number of those within was pretty near as great.

ABOUT this time a terrible War broke out between the *Liegeois* and the Duke of *Burgundy* and their Bishop, Cousin to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and Brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom they besieged in *Huye*, and after a long Siege took the Town, but the Bishop made his Escape; and towards



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towards the latter end of it the King sent 400 Lances under the Command of the Count de Dampmartin, Sallezart, Robert de Conychan, and Steuevot de Vignolles with 6000 frank Archers, pick'd and chosen out of Champagne, Soissonnois, and several Places in the Isle of France. As soon as the Burgundians heard that the Liegeois had taken Huye, they resolved immediately to take the Field with their whole Army, and to march against them and destroy them with Fire and Sword, to be revenged of them for the Burgundians they had slain upon their taking the Town. Accordingly they declared War against them throughout all their Dominions by the Ceremony of a naked Sword in one Hand, and a burning Torch in the other, signifying that this was a War of Blood and Fire.

ABOUT the same time the King sent the Bishop of Eureux, who was lately made a Cardinal at Rome, M. John de Ladriesme Treasurer of France, and several others, in an Embassy to the Count de Charolois, to negotiate some secret Affair with that Prince.

ON Sunday Night about 9 there was such terrible Thunder and Lightning as had scarce been known in the Memory of Man, and during the whole Month there were such prodigious Heats as surpris'd every Body, which was look'd upon to be very strange and unnatural.

ON Thursday the 15th of the same Month the King received Advice that a great Detachment of Bretons had possessed themselves of the Town and Castle of Caen in Normandy, and from thence marched to Bayeux, which they also so surpris'd, and turning out the Garison put some of their own Troops in it. The King was extremely concerned at this News, and immediately sends the Marshal de Lohenc, who had the Com-

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mand of 100 Lances of *Bretagne*, into *Normandy*, to see how Affairs stood there.

ABOUT this time *M. Anthony de Chasteauneuf* (Lord of *Lau*, Great Butler of *France*, and Seneschal of *Guienne*, Great Chamberlain to the King, and the most beloved and rewarded of any Favourite the King ever had) was by his Majesty's Order moved from the Castle of *Sully* upon the *Loire*, where he had been long a Prisoner, to the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, by *M. Tristan l'Ermite* the King's Provost Marshal, and *William Cerisay* newly chosen Register in Parliament, and upon this Removal there was a Discourse, which lasted some time, that he was executed, but 'twas a false Report.

ON *Tuesday* the 20th of *October* the King set out from *Paris* for *Normandy*, and lay that Night at *Villeperreux*, and the next at *Mante*. Before he left *Paris* he sent for several of his Captains and Officers of his Army, and ordered them to get the Troops that were under their Command in a readiness to follow him into *Normandy*, or wherever there should be most occasion for 'em; and on the same Day he published certain Letters and Ordinances, by which he declared, that it was his Royal Will and Pleasure that for the future all the Officers of his Kingdom, both Civil and Military, should continue in their Places, and that no Place should become vacant but by Death, Resignation, or Forfeiture, resolving to dispose of no Places but what became vacant by one of the three before mentioned ways, and therefore 'twould be in vain for any one to expect or solicit for a Post upon any other Terms, since he designed to do Justice to every one. After this Declaration he set out from *Mante* for *Vernon* on the *Seine*, where he stay'd some time, during which the Constable

of

of *France*, who came thither to pay his Respects to the King, found out an Expedient how to conclude a Peace between his Majesty and the Duke of *Burgundy* for 6 Months from the Date of the Articles, without including the *Liegeois*, who were actually in Arms against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in hopes of being assisted by the King, as they were promised, but by this Treaty they were baulk'd in their Expectations, and left in the Lurch. As soon as the Treaty was signed and sealed by the King, the Constable of *France* went to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy* to acquaint him with it.

Soon after this M. *John de Balue* Bishop of *Eureux*, M. *John Ladrische*, and the rest that had been sent into *Flanders* to negotiate an Affair at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court, came to *Vernon*, to give the King an account of their Embassy; immediately after which the King left *Vernon*, and came to *Chartres*, where he stay'd till the arrival of the greatest part of his Artillery from *Orleans*, which was to be employed in the Reduction of *Alençon*, and several other Towns in the same Province. And afterwards the King sent M. *John Prevost* into *Flanders* with the Articles of Peace to the Duke of *Burgundy*.

On the 16th the Bishop of *Eureux*, the Treasurer de *Ladrische*, M. *John Berart* and M. *Jeffery Alnequin*, arrived at *Paris*, in order to review the Banners, and to inspect several other things that the King had given them in Charge. After that the King went from *Chartres* to *Orleans*, *Clery*, and other Towns in that Neighbourhood, and afterwards to *Vendosme*, from whence he marched with great part of his Artillery and a considerable Body of Troops to *Mount St. Michael*. In the mean time the *Bretons* with a strong Army left their own Country, and penetrated into



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into *Normandy* as far as the City of *Orange*, and other Towns of that Province, and also dispersed themselves in small Bodies all over *Normandy*, as far as *Caen*, *Bayeux*, *Constances*, and other Places. About the same time the Duke of *Burgundy* taking advantage of the Peace that was concluded between him and the King, in which the *Liegeois* were excluded, marches against them with his whole Army, and lays Siege to their capital City, who being baulk'd in their Expectation of those Succours that the King promised to send them, and seeing their Ruin near at hand, were at last forced to surrender all their Towns to the Count *de Charolois*, besides giving him a vast Sum of Money, and consenting to have their Gates pulled down, and part of their Walls demolished.

On Saturday the 22d of November the Bishop of *Eureux*, and the rest of the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, review'd the Bands of the Tradesmen as they were drawn up and ranged under their respective Banners in several Places in the City. And the very same day the King commanded a Proclamation to be issued out, commanding all Persons that were used to serve in the Wars to repair forthwith to certain Commissaries appointed to receive and give them Pay. And the next Day M. *John Prevost* returned from the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court, whither the King had sent him with the Articles of Peace, and brought his Majesty back the Answer the Count *de Charolois* had given him in relation to that Affair. On Thursday the 16th of November there was another Review made of all the Banners without the Gates of *Paris*. As soon as the Review was over, the Bishop of *Eureux*, and the rest of the Commissioners, with M. *John de Ladriescbe* Treasurer of France, M. *Peter*

*Peter l'Orfeure* Lord *Dermenonville*, and several other of the King's Officers set out from *Paris* to wait upon the King, who was between *Mans* and *Alençon* with a prodigious Army consisting of a 100000 Horse and 20000 Foot, in order to oppose the *Bretons*; upon which his Majesty order'd the greatest part of his Artillery to be brought up, to be employ'd in the Siege of *Alençon*.

DURING these Transactions there were some Overtures of Peace which hinder'd the King from entering upon Action; and so by consequence his Army was forc'd to destroy and eat up all the flat Country for 20 or 30 Leagues round *Mans* and *Alençon*. In the mean time the Count *de Charolois*, who had already destroy'd the *Liegeois*, and over-run the Country, retir'd to *St. Quintin*; and order'd a Proclamation to be issu'd out thro' his whole Dominions, commanding all his Subjects that were able to bear Arms, and those Forces that were already rais'd to repair to *St. Quintin* by a certain Day upon pain of Imprisonment, in order to be review'd by by certain Commissaries appointed for that Purpose. The same Proclamation he caus'd to be publish'd in *Burgundy*, commanding all his Subjects of that Dutchy to repair to *Montsion* by the 22d of *December*, as a Place of general Rendezvous, where several Commissaries were also appointed to list and enter them in his Service; from whence they were order'd to march and join the Forces at *St. Quintin*, which were to act in Conjunction with those of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*, against the King of *France*. Upon publishing of this Proclamation, several Merchants of *Paris* that were gone into *Burgundy* to buy up some Commodities, made a quick Return, without doing any Business; and the Count

A. D. Count de Charolois order'd all his Forces to rendezvous at St. Quintin on the 4th of January 1467. following.

ON *Innocents Day*, which was the 28th of *December*, the Duke of *Bourbon* who came by the King's Order to put strong Garisons into his Frontier-Towns, and to cover his Country, that the *Burgundians* might not penetrate into it, arriv'd at *Paris*, and with him the Marshal de *Loheac*, who, according to common Report, was to be Lieutenant of the City. The Duke of *Bourbon* made some stay at *Paris*; but the Marshal de *Loheac* set out two Days after for *Roan*, and several other Towns in *Normandy*, to put them in a Posture of Defence, according to the King's Orders; where he staid a considerable time. The *Parisians* were extremely civil to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and during his stay there, he was caress'd by several of the chief Citizens, who made Feasts and Entertainments on purpose for him. In the mean time the City of *Alençon*, which was in the Hands of the *Bretons*, was surrender'd to the King by the Count du *Perche* Son to the Duke of *Alençon*, who commanded in the Castle at the same time that the *Bretons* were Masters of the Town. All this time the King did not stir from *Mans*; and during his stay there, he sent the Pope's Legate whom we have already mention'd, *Anthony de Chabannes*, Count de *Dampmartin*, the Treasurer *Ladriesche*, and several others in an Embassy to the Duke of *Berry*, to offer Terms of Accommodation; and at last the King consented to the calling the Three Estates of the Kingdom. *Tours* was the Place appointed for their Meeting, where, according to Order, they were assembled on the first of *April*, 1467. upon which the King left *Mans*, and came to *Montils* near *Tours*, *Amboise*, and thereabouts.



AS soon as the Three Estates of the Kingdom were assembled, the King came and acquainted them with the Occasion of their Meeting; and had from time to time several Debates and Conferences with them concerning the Affair between him and his Brother the Duke of Berry, till the time of their breaking up, which was till Easter Day, 1468. There were present at this Assembly the King, the King of Sicily, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count du Perche, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Cardinal of Angiers, several other Lords, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and abundance of other Persons of Quality and Condition; besides several Ambassadors from all Parts of France. And by this August Assembly it was agreed and resolv'd, (after a long and mature Deliberation, in order to end the Dispute between the King and his Brother M. Charles concerning his Appennage,) that his Majesty should allow him 12000 Livres a Year in Land; with the Title of Count or Duke; and that he should be oblig'd to give and allow him besides an Annual Pension in Money of 60000 Livres more, without any Prejudice to the rest of his Majesty's Children, who hereafter might come to the Crown, and be requir'd to give the same Appennage. To which the King, (being extremely desirous to live in perfect Peace and Union with his Brother,) at last consented, and willingly gave him the Annual Allowance of 60000 Livres, seeing he generously relinquish'd the Dutchy of Normandy, saying, it was not in the King's Power to dismember or give away any thing that belong'd to the Crown. And as for the Duke of Bretagne, who had sided with M. Charles, and had taken several Towns in Normandy, being suspected to hold a Correspondence with the English the ancient Enemies of France,

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*France*, it was agreed by the said Assembly, that he should be summon'd to surrender the Towns he possess'd of, and that upon Refusal, and the King's having certain Advice of his having made an Alliance with the *English*, his Majesty should immediately endeavour to recover them by Force of Arms, and the Three Estates of the Kingdom promis'd to stand by and support him; the Clergy with their Prayers and Estates; and the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty with their Estates and Persons. And moreover, the King was extremely desirous that Justice should be fairly and impartially administred through the whole Kingdom; and therefore he propos'd to this Assembly the chusing some Persons of Honour and Quality out of the Three Estates, to regulate and take care of that Matter; and the whole Assembly were of Opinion, that no Body was so fit to be employ'd in that Office as the Count de Charolois, who was a Peer of *France*, and nearly ally'd to the Crown. After this Debate was over, the King left *Tours*, and went to *Amboise*; and a little after he sent to the Assembly then sitting at *Cambray* to know how they approv'd of the Resolution that had been taken by the three Estates of the Kingdom that were conven'd at *Tours*, as you have already heard.

AFTER the King had dispatch'd this Affair, he went to *Meaux* in *Brie*; where he order'd a certain Person born in *Bourbonnois* to be beheaded for some Crimes he had committed, and amongst the rest for discovering the King's Secrets to the *English*, the ancient Enemies of *France*. Just before this the King was graciously pleas'd to grant an Act of Grace and Indemnity; and the Prince of *Piedmont* the Duke of *Savoy's* Son was sent to *Paris* with full Power  
and

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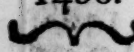
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and Authority to release all the Prisoners out of Jail.

ABOUT the same time the *Burgundians* or the *Bretons*, who had invaded *Normandy*, surprised the Lord *de Merville* between *St. Saviour de Dive* and *Caen*, and made him deliver up his Castle into their Hands, in which there were a small Number of frank Archers. As soon as they had surrendered it they hang'd the Lord *de Merville*, plundered the Castle, and afterwards set fire to it. After this the King left *Creil*, and went to *Compeigne*, where he stay'd some time, and then returned to *Senlis*, and from thence the Duke of *Bourbon* went to *Paris*, where he arrived on the Assumption of our Lady. Some time before this the King had sent *M. de Lyon*, the Constable of France, and several other Lords, in an Embassy to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to endeavour to adjust the Difference between them, without coming to an open War, notwithstanding he had already sent an Army into *Normandy* under the Command of the Admiral of France, who had been so successful as in a Months time to drive the *Bretons* out of *Bayeux*. On Saturday the 20th of August 1468 *M. Charles de Meleun* Lord of *Normanville* (who had formerly been Steward of the King's Household) was brought out of the Castle of *Gailart*, where he had newly been committed Prisoner, under the Command of the Count *de Dampmartin*, and publickly beheaded in the Market-place of *Andely*, according to the Sentence that had been pronounced against him by the Provost-Marshal. After this the King stay'd some time at *Noyon*, *Compeigne*, *Chaway*, and other Places thereabouts, till the 15th of September, where he received the agreeable News of the Duke of *Bretagne's* and his Brother *Charles's* readiness to consent to the Terms of Accommodation



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THE King immediately sent an Express to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay incamped between *Esclusiers* and *Cappy*, to acquaint him with this Accommodation, but he would give no Credit to it, till it was farther confirmed by certain Advices from the Duke of *Bretagne* and M. *Charles*; however he would not retire with his Army, but still continued in the same Post between *Esclusiers* and *Cappy*, behind the River *Somme*. During his Encampment there several Persons of Quality were deputed to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy*, amongst whom were the Constable of *France*, the Cardinal *d'Angiers*, and M. *Peter Doriolle*, in hopes of accommodating Matters amicably between him and the King, which his Majesty was extremely desirous of; but the Officers of his Army were of another mind; and begg'd the King that he would give them leave to attack the Duke of *Burgundy* in his Camp, not questioning but that they should defeat him, and oblige him to accept of what Terms his Majesty should propose; but the King would not hear of it, and upon Pain of death forbid them to attempt any thing against him. And from that time to the 12th of *October* there was a great Discourse of the King's having

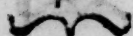
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having made a Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy* till the *April* following; and upon the Hopes of that Truce the King resolved to return from *Compeigne* to *Creil* and *Ponthoise*; wherefore he sent his Harbingers before to prepare his Lodgings, but afterwards he altered his Resolutions, and went in great haste from *Compeigne* to *Noyon*, where he had been but a little time before. In the mean time *Philip de Savoy*, *Poncet de Riviere*, the Lord *du Lau*, and several others that were Confederate with 'em, did abundance of Mischief. And on *Saturday* the 8th of *October* a Proclamation was issued out, commanding all the Nobility and Gentry within the Precincts of *Paris*, that held any Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty, of the Crown, to be ready in Arms at *Gonnesse*, and to march from thence on the *Monday* following wherever they should be commanded; at which several Persons at *Paris* were astonished, believing by this Preparation that no Truce had been made. After this the King left *Noyon*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* set out from the Army for *Peronne*, whither the King, attended only by the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinal *d'Angiers*, and a few of the Officers of his Household, went immediately to pay the Duke of *Burgundy* a Visit, who received him with all the Respect and Honour imaginable, as in Duty he was obliged to do; and after a long Conference together, the Difference that was between them was amicably adjusted. The Duke of *Burgundy* on his Part swore Homage to the King, and vow'd never to attempt any thing against his Majesty for the future; and the King confirmed and ratified the Treaty of *Arras*, and several other things; upon which a Courier was immediately dispatch'd to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty with the News of

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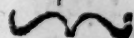


this Accommodation, and to order the Bishop of *Paris* to cause a general Procession to be made, and *Te Deum* to be sung in *Nostre Dame* Church, which was accordingly perform'd; and the Night concluded with Bonfires, Fountains running with Wine, and the usual Solemnities on such Occasions. In the mean time News came that the *Liegeois* had taken and kill'd their Bishop, and all his Officers, at which the King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, were extremely concerned, and there was great Talk that the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* would go in Person to destroy the *Liegeois*, and ruin their Country, to be reveng'd on them for their late barbarous Action of murdering their Bishop. But immediately the News of the Bishop's Death was contradicted; however the *Liegeois* obliged him to say Mass, and afterwards humbly submitted to him, and acknowledged him for their Sovereign Lord, being willing to put an end to those Calamities and Misfortunes they had already brought upon themselves.

ABOUT this time the King went to *Hall* in *Germany*, where he made but a short Stay; during which, at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Intercession, he pardoned *Philip de Savoy*, and the rest of his Confederates, and received 'em into his Favour again. From *Hall* his Majesty went to *Namur* to visit the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he resolved to accompany to the Siege of *Liege*, and had his Quarters assigned him in the Suburbs of that City during the whole Siege, which lasted some time, and he was attended by the Duke of *Bourbon*, *M. de Lyon*, *M. de Beaujeu*, and the Bishop of *Liege*, who were all Brothers. It seems the Bishop of *Liege* was sent out of the Town to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to make Terms of Capitulation with him in behalf  
of



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of the *Liegeois*, who offer'd to surrender the Town and all that was in it, provided he would spare the Lives of the Inhabitants; but he would not grant them those Conditions, vowing to sacrifice his whole Army rather than not to force them to surrender at Discretion, and ordered the Bishop of *Liege* to be detain'd; notwithstanding he told him, he had solemnly promised the *Liegeois* to return into the City, and live and die with them, if he could not obtain any honourable Conditions for them. As soon as the *Liegeois* were informed that the Duke of *Burgundy* had detained their Bishop against his Will, they made several Sallies upon the *Burgundians* and the King's Forces, and all they took Prisoners they put to death. However, notwithstanding all this, on *Sunday* the 30th of *October* the Duke of *Burgundy* ordered his Men to prepare for storming the Town, which was done the same Day, and after little or no Resistance the King, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, with the Lords *de Lyon*, *de Liege*, and *de Beaujeu*, entered it, out of which the greatest Part of the Inhabitants that were in health had retired just before the last Attack, leaving only a few old Men, Women, Children, Priests and Nuns, whose Throats were all cut by the Soldiers, who committed a thousand other barbarous and inhuman Actions, such as ravishing the Women, and killing them afterwards, defiling of Nuns even in the very Churches, and murdering the Priests while they were consecrating the Host at the Altar. And not being satisfied with this Scene of Blood and Horror, they plundered the Town, set fire to it, and demolished the Walls.

AFTER this Action was over the King return'd to *Senlis* and *Compeigne*, where he ordered the Court of Parliament, the Exchequer Treasurers,

A. D. 1468. and the rest of the Civil Officers of his Kingdom to attend him; and upon their Arrival he made several Laws and Ordinances, and having no design of staying there long, he ordered the Cardinal *d'Angiers* to acquaint them with the Terms of Accommodation between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which were specified and contained in 42 Articles, which were openly read to them by the said Cardinal, who told them, that it was the King's Royal Will and Pleasure that these Articles of Peace should immediately be ratified and confirmed in Parliament under such Penalties as he declar'd to them. The King having dispatch'd this Affair drew nearer to *Paris*, but would not enter the City, However the Duke of *Bourbon*, *M. de Lyon*, *M. de Beaujeu*, the Marquis *du Pont*, and several other great Lords, came and stay'd there some time.

ON *Saturday* the 19th of *November* the Peace between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* was proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets in *Paris*. At the same time there was another Proclamation issued out by the King's Order, commanding every Body for the future not to speak against or reflect upon the Duke of *Burgundy* either by Speeches, Signs, Pictures, Libels, or scandalous Verses, under very severe Penalties, which were explained and specified in the said Edict.

IN *February* the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ambassadors arrived at *Paris*, to hasten the signing the Articles of Peace that was concluded between the King and him, upon which the King wrote expressly to the Mayor, and the rest of the Civil Magistrates of *Paris*, to treat and entertain 'em handsomely, and his Majesty's Orders were punctually obeyed, and the Ambassadors were nobly entertained and feasted. In the mean time the  
Articles

Articles of Peace we have already mentioned were register'd in all the Courts of *Paris*.

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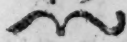
IN *April* 1469 M. *John Balue* Cardinal of *Angiers* (on whom the King had in a short time conferr'd vast Riches and Honours, doing more for him than for any Prince of the Blood, and whom the Pope by his Majesty's Recommendation had advanced to a Cardinal's Cap) most shamefully betrayed the Confidence the King had reposed in him, and having neither God in his Thoughts, nor the Honour nor Interest of the Kingdom before his Eyes, basely betrayed his Majesty into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Hands at *Peronne*, where he advised him to that ignominious Peace which was there concluded between them, and then persuaded him to accompany the Duke of *Burgundy* to the Siege of *Liege*, which had taken up Arms against him purely upon the King's account; so that in short his Majesty's going thither was the chief occasion of the Ruin and Desolation of the poor *Liegeois*. But to aggravate the Matter, the King, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the Nobility that attended his Majesty, were very near being all kill'd or taken, which would have been the greatest Blow the Kingdom of *France* had ever received since its first Establishment. The Cardinal not being contented with this Piece of Villany, immediately contrives how to act a greater; and therefore upon the King's Return to *Paris*, in his way to *Tours*, he uses his utmost Endeavours to induce his Majesty to fall out with his good Citizens of *Paris*, who had hitherto expressed so much Zeal and Loyalty for his Person. After this he employed all his cunning Arts and Stratagems to foment and inflame the Difference that was between the King and his Brother M. *Charles*. But finding himself



A. D. 1469. disappointed there, and having certain Advice that all Matters were amicably adjusted in the late Journey the King made to *Tours* and *Angiers*, and that they were perfectly reconciled to each other, he tries to raise Jealousy and Misunderstanding between the King and the rest of the Nobility, as he had formerly done. And in order to create as much Trouble and Confusion as possibly he could in the Kingdom, he dispatches a certain Emissary of his with Letters to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him that the Peace or Agreement that was lately concluded between the King and his Brother M. *Charles* was directly contrary to his Interest and Advantage, and made on purpose to turn their Arms jointly against him, wherefore he advised him to stand upon his Guard, and immediately take the Field, to prevent their Designs. Several other Arguments he made use of to induce the Duke of *Burgundy* to invade the Kingdom of *France* with a powerful Army; but by good Fortune his Letters were seized and carried to the King, who, upon the discovery of his treacherous Designs, immediately ordered him to be sent Prisoner to *Montbason*, where he was committed to the Charge and Custody of M. *de Torcy* and several other Officers. After this the King seized upon all his Goods, Lands and Chattels, of which he ordered an Inventory to be made, and also appointed M. *Tanneguy du Chastel* Governor of *Roussillon*, M. *William Cousinot*, M. *de Torcy*, and M. *Peter Doriolle*, as Commissioners to examine him. The King some time afterwards disposed of the Cardinal's Goods as his Majesty thought fit; his Set of Plate was sold, and the Money carried into the Treasury for the King's Use; the fine Hangings of his Palace were given to the Governor of *Roussillon*;

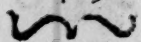
*Rouffillon*; his Library to *M. Peter Doriolle*; a fine Piece of Cloth of Gold valued at 1200 Crowns, with a great Quantity of Sables, and a large Piece of Scarlet embroidered with Gold was given to *M. de Crussol*, and his Robes with a little more of his Furniture were sold to pay the Clerks and other Officers that were employed to take the Inventory.

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IN the mean time the King and Queen of *Sicily* came to pay a Visit to the King at *Tours* and *Amboise*, and were nobly and kindly entertained by his Majesty. After which, attended by the Duke of *Bourbon* and several other Lords of his Kingdom, he made a Tour to *Niort*, *Rochelle*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood, where he met his Brother the Duke of *Guienne*, and by the Grace of God and the Assistance of the blessed Virgin a firm Union and Friendship was settled between them, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Kingdom, upon which *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in *Nostre Dame Church* in *Paris*, and Bonfires and Rejoycings were made in all the Cities and Towns in *France*, and after that the King came back to *Amboise*, where he had left the Queen, who had been very instrumental in his late Reconciliation. Some time afterwards the King resolv'd in Council to attempt the Reduction of the Earldom of *Armaignac*, and if the Enterprize succeeded, promised to give it to his Brother the Duke of *Guienne*, and in order to reduce it to his Obedience, he sent a considerable Body of Forces with some Cannon, which were to be followed in case of need by the whole Army. After the King had finish'd his Preparations for this Expedition, he went to *Orleans*, where he stay'd 5 or 6 Days, and then returned to *Amboise* again.

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ON *Saturday* the 4th of *November* 1469 was publish'd by Sound of Trumpet in all the Streets of *Paris* the League offensive and defensive that was lately concluded between *France* and *Spain*, in the Presence of both the Criminal and Civil Lieutenants of that City, and the greatest part of the Examiners of the *Chastellet*. And from that time the King, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the Nobility that attended on his Majesty, stay'd at *Amboise* and in that Neighbourhood till *Saturday* the 23d of *December*, upon which Day the Duke of *Guienne*, attended by all the Nobility of his Dutchy, came to wait on the King at his *Chateau de Montils* near *Tours*, where his Majesty was extremely glad to see him. And as soon as the Queen was informed of the Duke of *Guienne's* being there, her Majesty immediately left *Amboise*, and being attended by the Dutchess of *Bourbon*, her Maids of Honour, and several other Ladies of the Court, came to pay him a Visit, and to feast and entertain him. In the mean time the Country of *Armaignac* was delivered up into the King's Hands without any manner of Bloodshed, and the King, Queen, Duke of *Guienne*, and the Dutchess of *Bourbon*, spent their Time at the *Chateau des Montils* in Feastings and Diversions till *Christmase*. And after the Duke of *Guienne* had taken his Leave of the King and Queen and the whole Court, and was set out for his Dukedom, the King went back to *Rochelle*, *St. John d'Angeli*, and other neighbouring Countries, where he called an Assembly of the 3 Estates of the Kingdom, to consult about some important Affair, and to appoint new Officers in the Dutchy of *Guienne*, who might fairly and impartially administer Justice to his Subjects. And after the King had settled that Affair he returned to



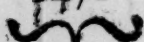


to *Amboise*, where he stay'd some time, during which he sent his Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne* with the Order of *St. Michael*, which he had lately instituted, as he had done to several other Lords of his Kingdom; but the Duke of *Bretagne* at first refused the Honour his Majesty designed him, and would not wear it, pretending he could not take the Oath belonging to that Order, having already accepted of that of the *Golden Fleece* from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and was become his Friend and Confederate in Arms; at which the King being highly incensed, and not without cause, immediately ordered a considerable Body of his Men at Arms and Archers, with some Cannon and Field-pieces, to be ready to march into *Bretagne*, and lay the Country under Contribution; but before those Forces were ordered to march, the King gave the Duke of *Bretagne* 10 Days time to consider of it, and to acquaint his Majesty with his Resolutions.

ON *Wednesday* the 13th of *February* was published in all the publick Streets of *Paris* the King's Mandate, by which his Majesty acquainted the Mayor of *Paris* that he had received certain Advice from *England* that King *Edward IV.* and the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, with whom that King had been in Wars for some time, were reconciled to each other, and that they had unanimously agreed in Parliament to invade the Kingdom of *France* with a powerful Army; wherefore the King (in order to oppose and prevent their Designs) had commanded the *Ban* and the *Arriere-Ban* to be raised, and ordered the Mayor of *Paris* forthwith to summon all Nobles and not Nobles, all the privileged Persons and not privileged Persons, within the Precincts of that City, holding any Lands by  
Homage

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Homage or Fealty of the Crown, to be ready in Arms on the first of *March* following, on Pain of Imprisonment and Confiscation of Goods. By the same Letters Patents the Mayor of *Paris* and all other Officers belonging to the King were forbidden under the same severe Penalties to admit of any Excuse or Certificate from any Persons whatsoever holding Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty of the Crown; and that whosoever should refuse to obey the Summons, should be look'd upon as Enemies to the King and Government, and be punish'd as Rebels and Traytors to their Country. On the same Day News was brought to *Paris* that the Duke of *Burgundy* was seen in *Ghent* with a Red Cross and Garter upon one of his Legs, which was the Order of *Edward IV.* King of *England*, upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* was immediately declared an Enemy to the Kingdom, and look'd upon as an *Englishman*.

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IN *May*, 1470. the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* with their Ladies, who had been driven out of *England* by *Edward IV.* with a slender Retinue, and some Ships landed at *Honnefleur* and *Harefleur* in *Normandy*; where they were kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by the Admiral of *France*, who lodg'd the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Count de *Vuassonfort*, the Ladies, and some of the chief of their Retinue in his own Palace; and took Care to have their Ships laid up safely in the Harbours of *Honnefleur* and *Harefleur*. A little after the Ladies and their Attendants remov'd to *Valoignes*, where fine Apartments were prepar'd for them.

AS soon as the Duke of *Burgundy* had Advice of the Earl of *Warwick's* Arrival in *France*, he immediately sent Letters to the Parliament

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to let them know, he was inform'd that the King had favourably receiv'd and entertain'd the Earl of *Warwick* in some of his Towns in *Normandy*, which was acting directly contrary to the Treaty that was concluded at *Peronne* between his Majesty and him; and humbly desir'd the Court of Parliament that they would make the King sensible of this Infringement, and persuaded him not to countenance the Earl of *Warwick* and his Party, whom he had declar'd were Enemies to the Kingdom; otherwise he should be oblig'd to seize upon his Person where-ever he found him, though 'twas in the very Heart of *France*; however the Earl of *Warwick* staid at *Hennefleur* till the latter end of *June*. In the mean time the King drew his Forces out of several Garisons, and order'd them to march into *Normandy* and *Picardy*, where they ruin'd and destroy'd all the flat Country thereabouts. In the mean time the King still kept about *Tours*, *Amboise*, *Vendosme*, and other Place thereabouts; whither the Queen of *England* and her Son the Prince of *Wales*, with several of the *English* Nobility, came to wait upon the King; and after a long Conference with his Majesty, the *English* return'd to *Honnefleur*, *Valoignes*, *St. Lo*, and other Places in *Normandy*. During these Affairs, the Duke of *Burgundy* order'd all the Effects belonging to the Merchants of *France*, that were in his Dominions, to be seiz'd, till some Restitution was made to the Marchants of his Country from whom the *English* had taken several Ships.

ON Saturday the last of *June*, 1470. between two and three in the Morning, the Queen was brought to Bed at the Castle of *Amboise* of a Prince, who was christen'd *Charles* by the Archbishop of *Lyons*; the Prince of *Wales*, Son to the



A. D. 1470. the late King of *England* *Henry VI.* standing Godfather, and the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon* God-mother. The Birth of this Prince occaſion'd great Joy at Court, *Te Deum* was order'd to be ſung at *Paris*, and Bone-fires and Rejoicings were made in all the Cities and Towns in *France*. And ſoon after this, the King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Guienne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords de *Lyon* and *Beaujeu*, and ſeveral others, were ſent to *Angiers*, *Saumur*, and other Places thereabouts, to endeavour to accomodate Matters between the King and the Duke of *Bretagne*, where they ſtaid ſome time before they could ſettle the Point; but at laſt the Buſineſs was determin'd to the Satisfaction of both of them; upon which the Duke of *Bretagne* ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Burgundy* to deliver up the Treaty of Alliance that had been lately made between them, and when they inform'd him of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Reconciliation with the King, he ſeem'd highly diſpleas'd and out of Patience. In the mean time, while the Earl of *Warwick*, (whom we mention'd before,) was making all the Preparations imaginable in *Normandy*, to return for *England*; the Duke of *Burgundy* fits out a great Fleet, and having well victuall'd and mann'd it with *Engliſh*, *Burgundians*, *Picardians*, and Seamen of other Nations; he puts to Sea; and ſailing round by the Coaſt of *Normandy*, thought to fall in with the Earl of *Warwick*'s Squadron near *Laire*, and fight them; but not finding them there, he dropt Anchor, and waited in Expectation of them; during which time the King left *Amboiſe*, and went a Pilgrimage to *Mount St. Michael*; and after he had perform'd his Devotions there, he return'd by *Orange*, *Tombelaine*, *Conſtances*, *Caen*, *Hon-neſſeur* and ſeveral other Places on the Coaſt of *Normandy*.

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*Normandy*, where the Admiral of *France* put in to victual his Fleet; on which the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and their whole Retinue, went on Board, together with a few Archers and other Soldiers that the King had order'd for the Safety and Defence of their Persons. As soon as they were ready to set Sail, the poor *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardians*, who had lain all this time in Expectation of the Earl of *Warwick's* Squadron, and had spent all their Provision, weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd Home to their Duke with hungry Stomach's without doing any thing; at which his Highness laugh'd heartily, though he had no Reason for it, having spent a great deal of Time and Money to no purpose. No sooner was the *Burgundian* Fleet out of sight, but the Earl of *Warwick*, attended as you have already heard, set Sail, and the Wind serving, in a little time arriv'd on the Coast of *England* and landed in the Night at *Dartmouth* or *Plymouth*; and immediately upon his Landing, he sent a Party of his Men 10 Miles up into the Country, to seize upon a Baron of the Kingdom, who little dreamt of that Descent, and was sleeping quietly in his Bed; but they soon rous'd him, and giving him but just time to put on his Cloaths, hurry'd him away to the Earl of *Warwick*, who order'd him to be beheaded the next Morning. After this he march'd from *Dartmouth* to a Neighbouring Town, where he was well receiv'd, and where he left his Artillery and heavy Baggage when he went for *Normandy*. He had scarce been landed three Days, and put what Forces he had with him into a little Order, when 60000 Men in Arms came voluntarily in to him, offering to venture their Lives and Fortunes in his Service; whereupon he immediately took the Field, and march'd

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march'd directly in search of King *Edward*, so that it was above a Fortnight from the Day of his Landing, before we could hear any News of him in *France*. And then the King receiv'd certain Advice that the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* were in full March with a powerful Army in search of King *Edward*; and that their Affairs were in such a prosperous Condition, that all the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commonalty of *England*, (but especially the People of *London*,) had forsaken King *Edward*, and were come in to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had deliver'd *Henry VI.* out of the *Tower*, where he had been long a Prisoner, and re-instated him in the Possession of his Kingdom. Upon which the Earl of *Warwick* was made Governor and Protector of *England* under *Henry VI.* and immediately march'd into the City of *London*, where the Citizens feasted and entertain'd him nobly. After which, he releas'd all the *French* Prisoners, that were in *England*, and sent them Home without any Ransom; but seiz'd upon all the Effects belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Subjects. At last, King *Edward* finding himself abandon'd and forsaken by all his Subjects, leaves his Queen in *England*, and goes over to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Burgundy*, with a very slender Retinue, to solicit Troops and Money to recover his Kingdom.

AFTER this the King wrote Letters to *Paris* to acquaint them that the Queen of *England*, Wife to *Henry VI.* the Prince of *Wales* and his Princess Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Countess of *Warwick* her Mother, the Lady *Wiltshier*, and several other Ladies of the *English* Court, were coming to *Paris* attended by the Counts d'*Eu*, de *Vendosme*, de *Dunois*, Monsieur de *Chastillon*, and several other Noblemen and Persons



Persons of Quality ; and that it was his Majesty's Command, that the Bishop, University, Court of Parliament, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *Paris* in their Robes and Formalities, should go out and meet them, and compliment the Queen of *England* in his Name.

SOON after this, the Queen, the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, the Maids of Honour, and ſeveral other Ladies of the Court came along with his Maſteſty to *Paris*, where they all ſtaid till the 26th, and then his Maſteſty ſet out from thence for *Senlis*, *Compeigne*, and the Neighbourhood of thoſe Places, where the greateſt part of his Army that was to act againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, lay.

HE order'd a large Train of Artillery to be brought from *Compeigne*, *Noyon*, and elſewhere, both by Sea and Land, into *Picardy* and *Flanders*; and publiſh'd a Proclamation by ſound of Trumpet in *Paris*, commanding all the Nobility and *Frank-Archers* of the *Iſle of France* to be ready in Arms to follow him; and join the reſt of the Army. During this time great Preparations were making at *Paris*; and a great quantity of Cannon, Ammunition and Proviſion were getting ready for the Army.

ABOUT this time, all the Handy-craftsmen in *Paris*, ſuch as Maſons, Carpenters, Joiners, and the like, were preſs'd by the King's Orders; not excepting thoſe belonging to the Towns and Cities that had lately ſurrender'd to his Maſteſty. The Command of this Body of Work-men was given to M. *Henry de la Cloche* the King's Attorney in the *Châſtellet* at *Paris*, who was a loyal Subject, and was to lead them to the Town of *Roye*, where they were to be employ'd in repairing the old Fortifications, and in making new ones; and when they had finiſh'd their

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their Work there, they were employ'd in doing the same in other Towns that had lately submitted to the King, which took up a great deal of Time, and kept them employ'd till *Easter-day*, at which time the King made a Truce for a little while with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was closely besieg'd in his Park between *Bapaumes* and the City of *Amiens* by the King's Army, and was reduced to so miserable a Condition, that had it not been for the Truce both he and his whole Army must certainly have perished or surrendred themselves Prisoners at Discretion. Since the beginning of the War to the Day the Truce was agreed on, the King's Army defeated the *Burgundians* and the *Picardians* in several smart Engagements, and took a considerable Booty from them in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, not to mention their Incurfions into the Countries of *Charolois* and *Masconnois*, where they enrich'd themselves by the Plunder they got, and took a vast Number of Prisoners, amongst whom were several Persons of Quality, who paid handsomely for their Enlargement, besides a greater Number kill'd in several Actions that happened between them. Some Persons of Quality on the King's side would have been prodigious Gainers by this War, had not his Majesty obliged them upon the Treaty to deliver up all they had taken from the Enemy, at which abundance of the Nobility that had a great Respect for the King, were highly displeased. During this Cessation of Arms the King, the Duke of *Guienne*, and several other Lords and Men of Quality went to *Han*, and stay'd there with the Constable of *France*, who was extremely proud of the Honour his Majesty did him. During the King's Abode at *Han* several Ambassadors arrived from the Duke of *Burgundy*,

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dy, and as many were sent by the King to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Camp, but notwithstanding all their Embassies forward and backward, 'twas a long time before they came to any Resolution. At last a Truce for one Year only was agreed upon between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and Commissioners were chosen on both sides to accommodate the Difference between them, and to terminate the Dispute between the Soldiers of each side. As soon as this Affair was settled every one retired to his own House, and the Towns that had been taken before the Treaty were garison'd by the King's Soldiers.

ABOUT that time great Quarrels and Contests arose in *England* between *Henry of Lancaster* King of *England*, the Prince of *Wales* his Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the rest of the Lords of the Kingdom who were of King *Henry's* side, against *Edward de la March*, who had usurped the Crown from *Henry*. This Civil War had occasioned already abundance of Murder and Bloodshed, and was not like to be at an end yet, for in *June 1471* the King received certain Advice from *England* that *Edward de la Marche* with a puissant Army of *English*, *Easterlings*, *Piccardians*, *Flemings*, and other Nations that the Duke of *Burgundy* had sent him, had taken the Field, and was going to oppose King *Henry's* Forces, which were commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*, the Prince of *Wales*, and several other Lords of that Party. In short, the Battel was bravely fought, and a vast Number of Men were kill'd and wounded on both sides, but at last *Edward de la March* gained the Victory, and King *Henry's* Army, partly by the Treachery of the Duke of *Clarence*, and partly for want of Conduct, was entirely defeated. The poor young



A. D. 1471. Prince of *Wales*, who was a lovely Youth, was barbarously murder'd after the Action was over, and the valiant Earl of *Warwick* finding himself betray'd, and scorning to fly, rush'd violently into the thickest of his Enemies, and was kill'd upon the spot. Thus died this great Man, who was so desirous of serving his King and Country, and who had cost King *Henry* so much Money to bring him over and fix him in his Interest.

IN *July* 1471 died the Count *d'Eu*, a Person of great Wisdom, Honour and Probity, heartily devoted to the Interest of his Country, and one that faithfully served the King to the utmost of his Power. Upon his Death the King took Possession of the Earldom of *Eu*, which he gave to the Constable of *France*, which was highly displeasing to his Brother the Count *de Nevers*, who thought to have enjoyed that Earldom, with the rest of his Estate, after his Brother's decease, as being his Right, and lawful Heir.

FROM this Month of *July* to *Christmas* nothing of Importance happened in the Kingdom of *France*, several Conferences indeed there were in the mean time between the Commissioners chosen on both sides to adjust the Difference and Dispute that were between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to settle a firm and lasting Peace.

IN the same Year the Duke of *Guienne*, after his Return from *Amiens*, began to grow a little dissatisfied with the King, and sent for the Count *d'Armagnac*, whom the King had banished the Kingdom at the same time that he depriv'd him of his Earldom. The Count immediately upon that Summons waits upon the Duke of *Guienne*, who gives him the greatest Part of his Earldom against the King's Consent and positive Commands to the contrary.

IN

IN *May* the Duke of *Calabria*, Nephew to the King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, and to whom the King had offered his eldest Daughter in Marriage, leaves his Dutchy of *Lorraine*, and goes in Person to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court, to treat of a Marriage with his Daughter, which was very strangely and unaccountably done of him (after the Honour which the King, who was his Sovereign Lord, had designed him) to think of marrying the Duke of *Burgundy's* Daughter, who was only a Subject and a Vassal to the King. But before this the Duke of *Burgundy* had often made War in *France* in favour of the Duke of *Guienne*, pretending his Design was to give him his Daughter in Marriage, but he never intended it, and did quite the contrary, deluding him, as he had done several other Lords, with fair Promises and Hopes of that Match.

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1471.



ON *Thursday* the 14th 1472 the King received certain Advice from M. *Malicorne*, a great Favourite of the Duke of *Guienne's*, that his Master was dead at *Bordeaux*. And immediately after M. *de Craon*, M. *Peter Doriolle* General of the Finances, M. *Oliver le Roux*, and the rest of the Ambassadors that were sent to the Duke of *Burgundy*, return'd, and gave the King an account of their Negotiation, and the Truce which was prolonged till the 15th of *June* following. However the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithstanding the Truce, took the Field with his Army, and fortified his old Post between *Arras* and *Bapaumes* in a Place called *Hubuterne* in *Artois*.

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AFTER this the Duke of *Burgundy* still continued to play his mad Pranks, and went on in his old obstinate ways, as he had formerly done. On *Tuesday* the 11th of *June* 1472 he sent a great

A. D. 1472. Detachment of his Forces to summon *Nesle*, in which there was one named *le Petit Picart*, that commanded 500 frank Archers of the Isle of *France*, who refused to obey his Summons, and sent him word that he would defend the Town and Castle to the last Extremity; upon which the *Burgundians* made several Attacks, but were always repulsed by Captain *Picart* and his Garison. The next day about five in the Morning the Countess of *Nesle* attended by Captain *Picart* and the chief of the Town went out to wait on the Bastard of *Burgundy*, who commanded that Detachment, in order to capitulate and make some honourable Terms for the Garison. At last the Bastard of *Burgundy* agreed to spare their Lives, provided they would immediately surrender the Town, and march out with leaving their Arms, Horses, Bag and Baggage behind, to which they were forced to submit. Upon their Return they acquainted the Garison with what hard Terms they must submit to, and accordingly Captain *Picart* having drawn up his Men in a Body in the Market-place, commands them to dismount and lay down their Arms, and imprudently delivers up the Town to the *Burgundians* before the Articles of Capitulation were signed. No sooner were the *Burgundians* Masters of the Town but they immediately fell upon the Garison, who were naked and unarmed, and killed several of them, not sparing even those that fled to the Church for Protection, without any manner of regard to the Promise they had made them to spare their Lives. Towards the latter end of this barbarous and inhuman Action the Bastard of *Burgundy* enter'd the Church on horseback, which swam in Blood, and when he beheld the Pavement all strewed with the dead Bodies of these poor Wretches, he said  
'twas



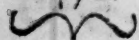
A. D.

1472.

'twas a glorious Sight, and was pleased to find he had such good Butchers in his Company. Neither did his Thirst of Blood and Vengeance cease here, for the next day he order'd the Captain to be hang'd and the Town to be set on fire. After this glorious Expedition they march'd the next day, which was Sunday, to *Roye*, in which there was a strong Garison, consisting of 1400 Archers, commanded by *Peter Aubert* Bailiff of *Meleun* and *Nugon*. Besides these Forces there were several Voluntiers and Captains of the Army, and amongst the rest *Loisel de Balagny* Governor of *Beauvais*, *M. de Mouy*, the Lord *de Rubempre*, and several others, who had with 'em about 200 Lances well armed and mounted. However the King had just before caused the old Fortifications of the Town to be repaired, and new ones to be made, which had added considerable Strength to the Place, and had provided it with every thing necessary for a long defence, yet they surrendred the Town on the 16th of *May* to the *Burgundians*, and marched shamefully out, leaving their Cannon, Horses, Arms, Bag and Baggage behind them, after the King had been at the Expence of 100000 Crowns of Gold in erecting Magazines, and putting it into a Posture of defence. After the Duke of *Burgundy* had turned out the King's Garison in this naked and miserable Condition, he took Possession of the Town, and after some Stay there he came before *Beauvais*, which he likewise summoned, and upon their refusing to surrender he resolv'd to besiege it, and immediately upon his Arrival, which was on *Saturday* the 27th of *June* 1472, he commanded his Soldiers to storm it on every side, but they were bravely repulsed by the Inhabitants of the same Place. The very same Night *William de Valce* the Seneschal of

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*Normandy's* Lieutenant, came to their Relief with a Reinforcement of 200 Lances, just as the *Burgundians* were going to make a vigorous Attack, upon which they mounted the Walls, and repulsed the *Burgundians*, who little expected so warm a Reception. The next day *M. de Crussol*, *Joachim Rouault* Marshal of France, *M. de Bueil*, *Guerin le Groing*, *M. de Torcy*, and several other Noblemen of *Normandy*, with a strong Detachment arrived there also, who behav'd themselves handsomely during the whole Siege, and gave signal Marks of their Courage and Conduct. The *Parisians* were serviceable also to the Besieged, and constantly supplied them with Ammunition and Provision; and during the Siege several warm Disputes and bloody Actions happened between the *Burgundians* and the King's Troops, in which several of the former were kill'd and wounded.

ON *Thursday* the 2d of *July* the Lord *de Rubempre* arrived at *Paris* from *Beauvais*, and brought Letters from the Governor of that Place directed to *M. Gaucourt* the King's Lieutenant of *Paris*, and to the Mayor and Aldermen, in which he acquainted them with the miserable Condition that the Duke of *Burgundy* and his whole Army was reduc'd to, that a half-penny Loaf was sold for 3 Pence in their Camp, that the Duke of *Burgundy* himself was grown desperate, and was resolved to have the Town tho' with the Loss and Ruin of his whole Army, and therefore begg'd of them that they would immediately send him some of their Field-pieces, a Body of their Cross-bow Men, and a Supply of Provision and Ammunition, which were accordingly sent him under a Guard of 60 Cross-bow Men of *Paris* commanded by the Bastard *Rochouart* Lord of *Meru*. And on *Thursday* the 9th

9th of July about 7 in the Morning the Duke of Burgundy began to batter the Town Wall over-against the Gate of the *Hotel de Dieu* with all his great and small Cannon; and having made a Breach, order'd his Men to fill up the Ditch with Bavins, Timber and Hurdles, and to be ready with their Scaling-ladders; which Orders were instantly performed, and a Party of *Burgundians* came with great Boldness and Resolution, and furiously attack'd that part of the Wall that was opposite to the *Hotel de Dieu*, but they were warmly received and repulsed by M. Robert Destouteville Lord of *Beyne* and Mayor of *Paris*, who was posted there with some of the King's Troops. This Attack lasted from 7 in the Morning till 11, during which Action the *Burgundians* had 15 or 1600 Men kill'd and wounded, and the Number would have been greater, and their Loss more considerable, had not all the Gates facing the *Burgundian* Army been so strongly barricado'd, that in the Hurry and Confusion of the storming the Town they could not get them open to make a Sally and fall upon the Enemy at the same time, at which all the Noblemen and Officers were extremely concern'd, for if they could have come handsomely to have engaged them, they would certainly have made a terrible Slaughter among them, for at that time the Garison consisted of 14 or 15000 Men commanded by the Count de Dampmartin, Joachim Rouault Marshal of France, Sallazart, William de Valce, Mery de Coue, Guerin le Groing, the Lords de *Beyne* and *Torcy*, and several other experienced Officers of Note and Quality. During the whole Action the Besieged lost but 4 Men, and that thro' their own Rashness as the Report goes, neither did the *Burgundians* from their first investing the Town to the 9th of July



A. D. 1472. kill any more than 4 Soldiers with their Cannon, notwithstanding their constant firing from their Batteries. The next day after the Attack M. *Denis Hesselin* Mayor of *Paris* sent another Body of Cross-bow Men to *Beauvais* with Arms, Ammunition, Provision, and some Surgeons to dress and take care of the Sick and Wounded.

ON *Friday* the 10th of *July*, which was the next day after the Attack, *Sallazart* with a Brigade of his own Regiment sallies out of *Beauvais*, and by break of day gets into the *Burgundian* Camp, where they kill'd all they met with, and burnt three fine Tents with all that was in them, in one of which there were two Men of Quality kill'd that offered a vast Sum of Money to save their Lives. At last the whole Camp took the Alarm, and his Soldiers shouting out, *A Sallazart, a Sallazart*, made the *Burgundians* immediately run to their Arms, and in a Moments time were ready with a considerable Body to oppose him, upon which *Sallazart* thought fit to retire, which he did in very good Order, and brought with him to *Beauvais* two Pieces of Cannon, one of which was a fine Brass Cannon named one of the 12 Peers, that the King lost at the Battel of *Mont l'Heroy*, and the rest that they could not bring off they flung into a Ditch by the way. *Sallazart* was closely pursued, and received several Wounds, his Horse was also wounded in several places of the Body, however he made a shift to carry him to *Beauvais*, where he dropt down dead immediately upon arrival there. From that Sally to the 21st of *July* no great Action happened on either side.

ON *Wednesday* the Feast of *St. Magdalen* the Duke of *Burgundy* shamefully raised the Siege of *Beauvais*, after having lain 20 days before it, and bombarding it night and day, without doing

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ing any considerable Damage to the Town, or killing many Men. Twice in that time indeed he attempted to storm the Place, but was as often repulsed, and in both Actions lost a considerable Number of Men, amongst the rest several Persons of Note and Distinction. In his Retreat he lost the greatest part of his Artillery, which the Garison of *Amiens*, who fell upon his Rear, took from him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being disappointed in his Design of taking *Beauvais*, grew desperate, and commanded his Army to burn the standing Corn, and to destroy and set on fire all the Towns and Villages thro' which they marched in their way to *St. Valery* near *Crotoy*, which was immediately surrendered to him, there being but a small Garison in it, and the Place itself not being capable of making a long Defence against such a powerful Army. From thence they marched to *Eu*, which was also surrendered to him on the same account. On *Wednesday* the 29th of *July* the Constable of *France* with several other Officers of the Garison of *Beauvais* marched out with 800 Lances, and took the Rout towards *Arques* and *Monstier-villier* in the County of *Caux*, to intercept the *Burgundians*, who 'twas believed would march that way, and so they did, and encamped between that Place, *Eu* and *Dieppe*, near a Village called *Ferriers*, where they lay a long time without doing any thing, except taking the new Castle of *Nicourt*, which made no Resistance. After staying there 3 days, and upon their Retreat they set fire to the Town and Castle, which was a thousand Pities, for it was a fine Town and Castle, and capable of being made a Place of great Strength. After this the Duke of *Burgundy* set fire to *Longueville*, *Faby*, and several other Towns and Villages in the Bailiwick of *Caux*,

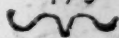
A. D.  
1472.

*Caux*, and all the mighty Actions his Army performed from their raising the Siege of *Beauvais* to the first of *December* 1472 was only burning and destroying wherever they came. In the mean time the King, who was in *Bretagne* with an Army of 50000 Men, lay still and did nothing, being wheedled and cajol'd by the smooth Words and fair Promises of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ambassadors, who still flatter'd him with the Hopes of Peace, besides his Majesty was tender of the Lives of his Subjects, and was willing on any reasonable Terms to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, not delighting in War and Slaughter, as the Duke of *Burgundy* did, who had already given a sufficient Demonstration of his bloody and revengeful Temper, by the many cruel and inhuman Actions he had committed, and the Barbarities he was daily guilty of. After the Duke of *Burgundy* was returned from *Caux*, where he had burnt and destroyed every thing, as you have already heard, and had been vigorously repulsed before *Arques* and *Dieppe*, he broke up from that Country and marched to *Roan*, where he met with a warmer Reception than he had hitherto found before any Town he had already besieged; so that after some Time spent in vain, and a great Number of his Men being kill'd and wounded by frequent Sallies, he was at last forced to abandon the Siege, and shamefully march off towards *Abbeville*; upon which there was a Report that he designed to form the Siege of *Noyon*, whereupon the Lord *de Crussol* and several other of the King's Officers were immediately sent thither with a good Body of Troops to garison the Town, who ordered some new Works to be thrown up, on which they planted a fine Train of Artillery, and supplied it with Ammunition, Provision, and



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and whatever else was necessary for the putting the Place in a good Posture of Defence. But after all these Preparations the *Burgundians* never invested the Town, however it suffered considerably on their account, for the Officers were obliged to burn down the Suburbs to hinder them from making a Lodgment there.

ABOUT this time there was a Discourse that the *Burgundians* were marching towards *Lorrain* and *Barrois*, upon which the King sent a Detachment of 500 Lances, with all the Nobles of the Isle of *France* and *Normandy*, besides a great Number of frank Archers under the Command of M. de Craon his Lieutenant-General, which were quartered in several Towns in *Champagne*, where they lay above 2 Months, and then marched back without doing any thing.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* prevail'd with the Emperor of *Germany* to go as far a *Luxembourg*, and from thence to the City of *Mets*; to persuade the Inhabitants to admit of a *Burgundian* Garison, but his Imperial Majesty finding them utterly averse to it, return'd to *Luxembourg*, and from thence to *Germany*.

ABOUT the same time the Duke of *Burgundy* sent an Agent to *Venice* to borrow Money of the *Venetians* to pay the 600 Lances belonging to that State, which he had agreed to take into his Service for three Months. They were forc'd to march thro' the Dutchy of *Milan*, and from thence to Upper *Burgundy*, being too weak to engage the King's Army, which was posted on the Frontiers of *Burgundy*, and hinder'd them from joining the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces any other way.

AT the same time the King marry'd his eldest Daughter *Anne* of *France*, who was offer'd to the late Duke of *Calabria*, to M. de *Beaujeu* the Duke of *Bourbon's* Brother.

ABOUT

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ABOUT this time the Duke of *Burgundy*, partly by Treason, and partly by Surprise, enter'd *Nivernois*, where he took several Places from the Duke of *Nevers*, as *Roche*, *Chastillon*, &c. At that time also the King's Ambassadors that had been assembled before at *Senlis*, met together at *Compeigne* in hopes of finding the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Ambassadors there according to their Appointment, but they did not come; so that after a long stay there to no purpose, the King's Ambassadors return'd to *Paris*, afterwards they went back again to *Compeigne* in *January*, and staid there till the 5th.

ABOUT the 20th of *January*, 1473 the Constable of *France*, who had turn'd the Lord *de Creton* and the whole Garison out of *St. Quintin*, and took Possession of it for himself, made his Peace with the King, and his Majesty was very well reconcil'd to him; and by the Agreement that was concluded between them, the Constable was to remain in *St. Quintin*, and to have *Meaux* and several other Places that the King had taken from him, restor'd again; Commissioners were likewise appointed by the King's Order to enquire after those Persons that had spoken reflectingly of the Constable concerning the Seizure of *St. Quintin*, in order to have them severely punish'd; he had also a great Sum of Money remitted for the Payment of his Troops, which was stop'd immediately after the taking of *St. Quintin*. About this time the King came from *Amboise* to *Senlis*, and staid some time in that Neighbourhood; during which the King's Ambassadors and those of the Duke of *Burgundy* held several Conferences, and at last a Truce was agreed upon till the Middle of *May*, in hopes that Matters might be so order'd in that time, as to have a firm and lasting Peace concluded between their two Masters. ON

ON *Wednesday* the 20th of *April*, 1474 the King order'd all the Officers, Citizens and Inhabitants of *Paris* to be review'd; which was accordingly done, and they were all in Arms, and drawn up in Order without the Gates of *Paris*, from the *Bastille St. Anthoine* all a long the Town-Ditch as far as the Tower of *Billy*, and from thence to the *Grange-aux-Merciers*. On the other side also they were drawn up in the same Order of Battle and made a gallant Appearance in their Red Coats with White Crosses, and were computed to be in all about 80000 Men, including those that belong'd to the Train of Artillery, of which there was a great store brought out into the Field that day. The King, attended by the Count de *Dampmartin*, (who made a great Figure that day) *Philip de Savoy*, *M. du Perche*, *Sallazart*, and several other general Officers of the Army, with all his Guards, was at the Review. The King of *Arragon's* Ambassadors were also there to wait upon his Majesty; and were extremely surpris'd to see one City produce such a vast Number of Men in Arms. After the Review was over, the King went to *Bois de Vincennes* to Supper, and took the Ambassadors along with him; and some time after presented the two chief ones with two Gold Cups richly emboss'd, that weigh'd 40 Marks of Gold, and cost 3200 Crowns, and after that his Majesty return'd to *Senlis*, where he staid some time; during which he receiv'd two Embassies, one from the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the other from the Emperor of *Germany*; the chief Ambassador of the last Embassy was the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the chief of the first was *Philip des Effars* Lord of *Thieux*, the Duke of *Bretagne's* Steward of his Household, who had formerly declar'd himself against the King; how-



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however his Majesty laying aside all Animosities, receiv'd him very kindly, gave him a Present of 10000 Crowns, and made him Inquisitor-General and Justice in *Eyre*, of *Brie* and *Champagne*, turning *M. de Chastillon* out of that Post on purpose to oblige the said *Philip des Essars*.

ABOUT the same time of the King's being at *Senlis*, *Ermenonville*, and thereabouts; the Duke of *Burgundy* sent his Ambassadors to wait on his Majesty, who staid there a great while, but did nothing, and presently afterwards the King went to *Compiègne*, *Noyon*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood, where the Constable of *France* came to wait on the King in order to adjust some Difference that was between them. The King and he had an Interview in the open Field near a certain Village thereabouts, and both were attended by a strong Guard for the Security of their Persons. The Constable of *France* having thus made his Peace with the King, who generously forgave and pardoned all his rebellious Actions; he solemnly swore never to be guilty of the like for the future, but henceforward to obey and serve the King, as a loyal and dutiful Subject ought to do, against all Invaders and Opposers whatsoever.

ABOUT this time the King, who had a singular Love for his People, and was willing to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, prolong'd the Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy* his mortal Enemy for another Year, and in *April* 1475, tho' he had received several Embassies from the Emperor of *Germany*, humbly to intreat his Majesty not to make any longer Truce with him, but that he would give him leave to enter his Territories by Force of Arms, and make him submit to what Terms his Majesty should offer,

pro-

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promising moreover, that whatever Conquests or Acquisitions he should make in any of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, should be made over to the King without putting him to the Expence of either Men or Money. But notwithstanding all these advantageous Offers a Truce was concluded between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who immediately broke it, and committed several Acts of Hostility, ruining and destroying abundance of the King's Subjects living in those Countries that bordered upon his Dominions, for which he never made any Reparation, and which was look'd upon to be a base and audacious Action for a Vassal thus to ruin the Countries and Subjects of his Sovereign Lord and Master.

ABOUT this time the Duke of *Burgundy* (whose restless Ambition would not suffer him to sit still) had invaded some Part of *Germany*, and besieged *Nuz*, a large and strong Town, situated upon the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, before which Place he lay a considerable time with his whole Army, and all his Artillery. Not long after this the *Burgundians* surpris'd a Town in *Gastinois* call'd *Molins en Gibers*, whither his Majesty also sent another Body of Forces with some Cannon, in order to retake it. In short, the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Allies (notwithstanding the Truce) still continu'd to make Incursions into the King's Dominions, to seize his Towns whenever they had an Opportunity, and to ruin and destroy his Subjects.

ABOUT this time *Edward IV.* King of *England* sent his Heralds to the King, to demand the Dutchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which he claimed as his lawful Right, and upon refusal, to declare War against him. The King return'd a very civil Answer by the Heralds, and also sent

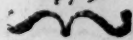
A. D. sent King *Edward* the finest Horse he had in his  
1444. Stable as a Present.

IN *February* following the *Germans* who were besieged in *Nuz*, by the Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Cologne*, and some other *Germans* of the Circle of *Austria*, found out a way to throw some Provisions into the Town in spite of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who kept it closely besieged, and had caused several large Vessels well Man'd to come up the *Rhine* in order to intercept the Convoy, but to no purpose, for it safely arrived in the Town, and all his Ships (in which were about 6 or 7000 *Burgundians*, who were all drown'd) were sunk or split in pieces, and besides those a vast Number of them had already been kill'd before *Nuz*.

ABOUT the same time the City of *Perpignan* was surrendred to the King, on condition that the Garison should march out with their Arms, Horses, Bag and Baggage, leaving only their Artillery, of which they had a very fine Train, for the King's Use.

A. D. ON the 7th of *April* 1475 the League that was  
1475. lately concluded between the Emperor and the King was published in *Paris*, but first of all the King ordered it to be proclaimed before the Lodgings of *M. du Maine*, the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Duke of *Bretagne's* Ambassadors. In the same Month the King received two Embassies, one from the Duke of *Tuscany*, and the other from the Emperor of *Germany*, and the Ambassadors were nobly treated and entertained not only by the King, but by all the Nobility of the Court. In the beginning of *May* the King, attended by the Admiral of *France*, and the other Officers of the Kingdom, set out from *Paris* for *Vernon* on the *Seine*, whither his Majesty went to consult about the Military Operations of the  
ensuing





ensuing Campaign, the Truce being expir'd on the last day of *April*, and from whence he returned to *Paris* on the 14th of the same Month.

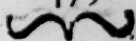
ON the Feast of the *Holy Cross* the King's Army invested *Montdidier*, which had also refused to surrender upon the Summons, but afterwards they considered better of it, and finding the King's Forces were actually preparing to storm the Town, on *Friday* the 5th of *April* they beat the Chamade, and offered to surrender, provided they might march out, and be safely conducted to the next Garison Town belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was granted on condition of leaving their Horses, Arms, Bag and Baggage behind 'em, so the King's Troops immediately took Possession of the Town, which they afterwards demolished, as they did *Tronquoy*.

ON *Saturday* the 6th of *May* the Town of *Roye* and the Castle of *Moreul* was surrendred to the King upon the same Terms. The taking of these Towns in so short a time by the King's Army struck such a Terror into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Subjects, that they either fled before it, or else came in and join'd it; so that the King's Army being daily augmented by the *Burgundian* Troops that came over to them, all the Cities and Towns in *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardy*, were soon reduced to the King's Obedience.

IN *July*, notwithstanding the News that the Constable of *France* had written to the King, his Majesty receiv'd Advice from the Emperor, that he had thrown a fresh Supply of Troops into *Nuz*, had taken out all the Sick and Wounded, and provided the Town with Provisions and all other Necessaries for a Year longer, and that some Action had happened between his Forces and the Duke of *Burgundy's*, in which the latter

A. D. 1475. had lost great part of his Artillery, Plate and Money, which was sent to pay his Army. On *Tuesday* the 27th of *June* the Admiral of *France*, whom the King ordered to march with a Body of Men into *Flanders* and *Picardy* to plunder and destroy the Countries with Fire and Sword, drew near *Arras*, and having placed his Men in an Ambuscade, he ordered 40 Men at Arms to advance towards the City Gates, upon which part of the Garison of *Arras* immediately sallies out and attacks them, who according to their Orders retired to the Place where the rest of their Detachment lay in Ambush, who all on a sudden fell so furiously upon the *Burgundians*, that they entirely broke and defeated them, several of whom were kill'd, and abundance taken Prisoners, and among the latter M. *James de St. Paul* Governor of *Arras*, and several other Persons of Note and Distinction, whom the Admiral of *France* carried with him when he went to summon the City, and told the Inhabitants, that if they would not instantly surrender the Town to the King, who was their lawful Sovereign, he would certainly behead their Governor and the rest of the Men of Quality he had taken Prisoners.

ON *Tuesday* the 29th of *August* the King, attended by the Duke of *Bourbon*, M. de *Lyon*, and several other Persons of Quality, besides a vast Number of Officers of the Army, consisting of 100000 Horse, march'd from *Amiens* to *Picquigny*, which was the Place that had been appointed for the Interview between his Majesty and *Edward IV.* King of *England*, who had brought with him his Vanguard and his Rear, which were drawn up in Order of Battel near *Picquigny*. Upon *Picquigny* Bridge the King had ordered two large Pent-houses to be erected opposite



to each other, one for himself, and the other for the King of *England*. In the middle between these two Pent-houses was built a large wooden Grate somewhat like a Lyon's Cage, about Breast high, so that the two Kings might lean over it and discourse together. The King of *France* came first to the Grate, upon which an *English* Baron whom King *Edward* had commanded to wait there for his Majesty's arrival, was dispatched in all haste to acquaint King *Edward* with it, who lay strongly encamped with 20000 *English* at a Place about a League from *Picquigny*, and who came attended only by 20 Men at Arms of his Guards, who were ordered to stay on the other side of the River at the foot of the Bridge during the whole Conference between the two Kings. In the mean time it fell a raining prodigiously, which did a considerable damage to the Houfings and Furniture that the Nobility and Officers of the *French* Court had prepared on purpose for this Interview, and which were rich and magnificent. As soon as the King of *England* came within sight of the King he threw himself upon one Knee, and so he did twice before he came up and saluted his Majesty, who received him with all the Marks of Honour and Respect imaginable. After some Complements had passed between them, they began to discourse about the Affair for which this Interview was appointed, in the Presence of above 100 Persons, among whom were the Duke of *Bourbon*, *M. de Lyon*, several other Lords, and all the chief Officers of the Finances. After they had talk'd together for about a quarter of an Hour, the King ordered every one to withdraw, and the two Kings had a private Conference, which lasted a considerable time, and when it was over, the King openly declared

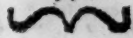


A. D. 1475. that there was a Truce concluded between 'em for 7 Years, which was to begin from this day the 29th of *August* 1475, and end on the same day 1482. This Truce, which was soon after proclaimed in *Paris*, and all other Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, related chiefly to Trade and Commerce; and by this Treaty the *English*, whether armed or unarmed, provided they were not more than 100 in one Company, were permitted to go and come when and where they pleased all over the Kingdom of *France*. As soon as this Affair was concluded, the King order'd the 75000 Crowns to be remitted to King *Edward*, made considerable Presents to some of the Lords that attended on him, and ordered Money to be given and distributed among his Trumpets and Heralds, who highly extoll'd the Bounty and Generosity of the King. The King of *France* besides all this promised King *Edward* to pay him 50000 Crowns of Gold yearly, and nobly entertained the Duke of *Gloucester*, the King of *England*'s Brother, to whom he also made considerable Presents. King *Edward* immediately ordered all the *English* that he had sent to reinforce the Garisons of *Abbeville*, *Peronne*, and other Towns in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Possession, to evacuate those Places and join the Army, with which he marched back to *Calais*, where he embarked for *England*. M. *Herberge* the Bishop of *Eureux* waited on King *Edward* as far as *Calais*, where he left two *English* Barons till he had sent the King something out of *England* that he had promised him. The Lord *Howard* was one of these Barons that were left as Pledges for Performance of King *Edward*'s Promise, and the Master of the Horse to the King was the other; they were both of them highly valued and esteemed by the King of *England*,

*land*, and were very instrumental in concluding the late Treaty between the two Kings. When the *English* Barons took their Leave of the King, his Majesty presented them with a Set of Gold and Silver Plate, and sent an Order to *Paris* to let them have what Quantity of Wine they pleased to carry over with them into *England*, provided they paid for it.

A. D.

1475.



ON *Monday* the 16th of *October* 1475 the Truce in relation to Trade and Commerce that was concluded for 9 Years between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, was solemnly proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of *Paris*, and it was to commence on the 14th of *September* 1475, and to end on the same day of the Month 1482. By this Treaty all the Subjects of *Burgundy* were to have full Liberty of trading in any Part of *France*, and during the Term of 9 Years to settle and live there if they pleased.

THE Duke of *Burgundy* having promised by his Ambassadors in *October* last, when the Truce was concluded between him and the King for 9 Years, to deliver up the Constable of *France* to his Majesty, was now forced, much against his Inclinations, to do it, and he was accordingly delivered up into the Hands of the Admiral of *France*, M. de St. Pierre, M. de Boucage, M. Willam de Cerisay, and several others, who brought him to *Paris*, where he was afterwards beheaded on *Tuesday* the 19th of *December* 1475, and his Goods confiscated to the King.

AFTER the Constable of *France's* Death, it plainly appeared that he had been guilty of several notorious Crimes, and the whole Course of his villanous and treasonable Practices were openly declared in Parliament, and all his underhand Dealings and Correspondence with the

A. D. 1475. Duke of *Burgundy* were fully discovered. Then we perfectly knew the whole Mystery of that Affair, and how the Duke of *Burgundy* and he had often endeavoured to corrupt and debauch the Duke of *Bourbon's* Principles, and draw him over to their Party, and that at last, after many fruitless Attempts, how he dispatched a subtil Agent of his named *Hector de l'Ecluse* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to acquaint him that the *English* had a design to invade *France*, and that if he would join with them and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he questioned not but to conquer the whole Kingdom, and that a great Part of it should be annexed to his Territories as a Reward for his Assistance. This was the Master-piece of his Villany and Treason; but it seems the Duke of *Bourbon* had too much Honour to hearken to such Proposals, told the said *Hector de l'Ecluse* that he would have no hand in it, and that he had rather be reduced to Beggary, than ever consent to the Ruin of either the King or Kingdom.

IN February 1475 the King, who was at *Tours* or *Amboise*, set out from thence for *Bourbonnois* and *Auvergne*, from whence he went to *Nostre Dame de Puy* to perform his Devotions, and afterwards into *Lionnois* and *Dauphine*. While the King was at *Nostre Dame de Puy* he received an Express that brought him the News of the Defeat of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army by the *Swiss*, as he was endeavouring to penetrate into *Switzerland*, which happened after the following manner. After the taking of *Ganson* the Duke of *Burgundy* marched with his Army along the Lake of *Verdun* towards *Friburg*, and by the way took two small Castles situated upon the Mountains, just at the entrance of 'em; but the *Swiss*, who had Intelligence of his Approach, and



and were also informed of his taking *Ganson*, marched towards him, and on *Friday* the first of *March* towards Night they arrived at the two above-mentioned Castles, which they immediately invested after such a manner as to prevent the Garisons from making any Sallies, and placed about 6000 Men with Fire-Arms in a little Copse between the two Castles near the Place where the Duke of *Burgundy* lay encamped with his whole Army. The next day very early in the Morning, as the Duke of *Burgundy* was marching forward with all his Artillery, Bag and Baggage, this Body of *Swiss* upon a Signal given them starts out of the Ambush where they had lain all Night, and all on a sudden made so terrible a Fire with their small Arms upon the *Burgundian* Vanguard, as kill'd most of the chief Officers, and entirely broke and dispersed 'em; and notwithstanding the Duke of *Burgundy* did all he could to rally his Men, and make them face the Enemy once more, their Consternation was so great, that he could not bring them up to stand a second Charge; and the *Swiss* being animated by this Success, and eager to improve the Advantage they had gain'd over the Enemy, as soon as they had discharged their Muskets, fell on Sword in Hand, and entirely routed the whole Army. At last, the Duke of *Burgundy* finding the Battel was lost, and that he was in danger of being taken Prisoner, in great Agony and Confusion mounts his Horse, and being attended by only 4 Officers of his Army, made his Escape to *Joigne*, which was 16 French Leagues from the Place where this Defeat happened. In this Action, which happened on *Saturday* the 2d of *March* 1475, the Duke of *Burgundy* lost the greatest Part of the chief Officers and Men of Quality of his Army, besides all his Artillery,

A. D. 1476. Bag and Baggage. The *Swiss* also retook both the Castles, and hung up all the *Burgundians* they found in them. Afterwards they retook the Town and Castle of *Ganson*, and ordered the *Germans* to the Number of 512, that the *Burgundians* had hang'd, to be cut down, and so many of the *Burgundians* that were in *Granfon* to be hang'd up in the same Halter.

IN May 1476 the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithstanding his Defeat near *Granfon*, was resolved still to push on the War against the *Germans*, and to besiege *Strasbourg*, but not being in a Condition to do it without a fresh Supply of Men and Money, he sends M. *William Hugonot* and 12 other Deputies into his own Dominions to acquaint his Subjects, that tho' he had been defeated by the *Swiss*, yet he was resolved to be revenged on them, and to push on the War with greater Vigour, and therefore being unable to do it without a great Supply of Men and Money, he commanded all his Subjects by these Deputies of *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Brussels*, and other Towns in *Flanders*, to exert themselves upon this Occasion, and give him the 6th Part of their Estates, and such a Number of Men as he should demand. And in order to prevail with them to consent to his Demands, he bid the Deputies tell them that the *Germans* were got between him and Home, and that without a fresh Supply of Forces he could not return into his own Dominions. To which Remonstrance the Inhabitants of the above-mentioned Towns made Answer, that they were resolved to grant no more Supplies of either Men or Money to carry on the War, but that if the *German* Army was too strong for him, and hindered him from coming Home, they would venture their Lives and all they were worth to bring him safely into his own Dominions,

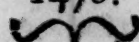
IN

IN the mean time the King stay'd at *Lyons* feasting and enjoying himself, where the King of *Sicily* his Uncle came to wait on him, whom his Majesty entertained very nobly, shewed him the Diversions of the Fair that was kept in that City, and made several Balls and Entertainments, to which the handsomest Ladies of *Lyons* were always invited on purpose to divert and entertain him.

A. D.  
1476.

SOME time after this the King, who was at *Lyons*, and had great Part of his Army with him, received Advice that the Duke of *Lorraine*, in Conjunction with the *Swiss* and *Germans*, besides a good Body of *Lorrainers*, were in motion to oppose the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had rashly and imprudently penetrated into *Switzerland*, and with his whole Army was set down before a little Town in that Country named *Morat*. And on *Saturday* the 22d of *June* 1476 between 10 and 11 in the Morning the Duke of *Lorraine* at the Head of all those Forces we have already mentioned, attacked the Duke of *Burgundy*, and at the first Charge entirely broke and defeated his Vanguard, which consisted of 12000 Men, and the Slaughter and Confusion was so very great, that the Count *de Romont* who commanded 'em had much ado to make his Escape. After this Defeat the Garison of *Morat* joined the Duke of *Lorraine's* Army, which forced the Duke of *Burgundy's* Intrenchments, where they gave no Quarter, but kill'd all they found in them, so that the Duke of *Burgundy* was at last forced to retire with the Remains of his broken Army that had saved themselves by Flight, nay, he himself fled as far as *Joigne*, which was 16 *French* Leagues from the Field of Battel, and in this Action he lost all his Artillery, Plate, Money, Jewels, Tents, Pavilions, and in short, every



A. D. 1476.  ry thing of value that was in his Camp. As soon as the Battel was over, the *Germans* and *Swiss* returned the Duke of *Lorraine* many Thanks for his Care and Conduct in the Action, and in consideration of the great Services he had done them, they presented him with all the Duke of *Burgundy's* Artillery to make him amends for what he lost at *Nancy*, when the Duke of *Burgundy* by Force of Arms sack'd that Town, and carried away all the Cannon that he found in it. The Heralds that were appointed to take an account of the Slain report that there were 22000,500 *Burgundians* kill'd on the spot, besides a vast Number in the Rout, for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Army pursued them as far as *Joigné*, and afterwards burnt and destroyed the whole Earldom of *Romont* in *Savoy*, putting all to the Sword they could meet with, without any distinction of Age or Sex.

AFTER this the Duke of *Lorraine* marches to *Strasbourg*, and from thence with a Body of 4000 Men detach'd from the Grand Army, goes and besieges *Nancy*, in which there was a Garison of 1200 *Burgundians*, and after he had given some Directions to the Officer that commanded a Body of Troops under him, he return'd to *Strasbourg* again, from whence he sent several Convoys of Provision and Ammunition, and afterwards set out himself for the Camp before *Nancy*, to command at the Siege of that Place in Person.

AFTER the Duke of *Burgundy's* Defeat at *Morat*, and the besieging of *Nancy*, the Town was surrender'd to the Duke of *Lorraine*, on Condition that the Garison, (who were all *Burgundians*,) should march out with Bag and Baggage, and the usual Marks of Honour, which was granted them; and as soon as the Duke of  
*Lorraine*

*Lorrain* was Master of it, he immediately put a strong Garison of his own Troops in it, and provided it with Ammunition, Provision, and all things necessary for a long Defence; and it was well he acted so prudently, for scarce had he been a Month in Possession of the Town, when the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was retir'd to *Riviere* a Town near *Salins* in *Burgundy*, with what Forces he could raise comes and besieges it again, upon which the Duke of *Lorrain* marches into *Switzerland* to solicit more Troops in order to relieve the Garison, and raise the Siege of *Nancy*.

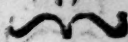
AFTER this the King of *Portugal*, who laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Castile*, and in short, to all *Spain*, in Right of his Queen, left his Kingdom, and came to the Frontiers of *France*, and from thence to *Tours* to visit the King; and to desire his Majesty to assist him with some Troops to recover those Kingdoms. He was receiv'd by the King with all the Marks of Honour and Respect imaginable, and during his Stay at *Tours*, he was nobly treated and entertain'd by the King and several of the Nobility of the Court.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy*, who as you have already been inform'd, had besieg'd *Nancy* in *Lorrain*, put the Garison to such great Straits and Necessities, that for want of Provision they were forc'd to capitulate and surrender the Town upon Articles. And on Sunday the 5th of *January* the Duke of *Lorrain* arriv'd with an Army of 12 or 14000 *Swiss* and *Germans*, in order to raise the Siege of *Nancy*, and fight the Duke of *Burgundy*. On Saturday the 6th of *January* the Duke of *Lorrain* arriv'd with an Army of 10000 *Swiss*, besides *Germans* and *Lorrainers* at *St. Nicholas de Varengenville*.

ON

A. D. 1476.  ON the Sunday following the Lords of *Switzerland* and *Lorrain* march'd from thence to *Neufville*, and a little beyond that Place they halted some time, to consider how they might draw up their Forces to the best Advantage; and accordingly they divided their Army into 2 Bodies, one of which was commanded by the Count d' *Abstain*, and the Governors of *Fribourg* and *Zurich*, and the other by the chief Magistrates of *Bern*. About Noon the two Bodies began to march at once; one towards the River, and the other along the High Road leading to *Nancy*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had Intelligence of their coming, had quitted his Intrenchments, and drawn up his Army in order of Battle ready to receive them. In the Front between him and one of the Enemies Bodies, there was a little Brook and two strong Hedges; and on the high Road, along which the other was marching to engage him, he had planted all his Cannon and Field-pieces; and as soon as ever the *Swiss* came within Bow-shot, the *Burgundians* discharg'd a whole Volley of Arrows, which did no Execution, upon which that Body quitted the High Road, and march'd higher towards the Wood, till they had gain'd an Eminence opposite to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army. In the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* commands his Archers, (who were all on Foot,) to face about; and at the same time order'd two Squadrons of his Men at Arms commanded by *James Galot* and *M. de Lallaing* to attack the Enemy. As soon as the *Swiss* had gain'd the rising Ground opposite to the Duke of *Buagundy's* Army, they immediately fac'd about; and marching up to him with all the Fury and Intrepidity imaginable, made such a terrible Fire upon the Body of Foot that he commanded, that





that they entirely broke and defeated them. The other Body of *Swiss* march'd at the same time to engage the two Squadrons commanded by *James Galiot* and *M. de Lallaing*, whom they entirely routed at the first Charge. Upon this, the Right Wing of the *Burgundians*, who had not yet been engag'd, attack'd the *Swiss*, by whom they were repuls'd, and at last entirely defeated; so that when the Foot began to give Ground and run away, the Horse presently follow'd them, and endeavour'd to make their Escape by the Bridge of *Bridores*, which was about a League from *Nancy*, in the Way to *Thionville* and *Luxembourg*. But the Count *di Campobasso* having secur'd that Pass by a good Body of Troops, and the Duke of *Lorraine* and his Men following the close at the Heels, vast Numbers of them threw themselves or were driven into the River, where they were drown'd; and the rest were either kill'd or taken, very few or none making their Escapes: so that there was a greater Number kill'd in the Rout, than on the Field of Battle. Some of the *Burgundians* finding they could not get over the Bridge, retir'd to the Woods in hopes of saving themselves; but they were pursued thither by the Peasants of the Country, who kill'd them as fast as they could find them, so that for 4 Leagues round the Fields and Highways were strew'd with the Bodies of dead Men. The Pursuit lasted till 2 Hours after Night, and then the Duke of *Lorraine* began to enquire what was become of the Duke of *Burgundy*; whether he had made his Escape or was taken Prisoner, but no Body could give any Account of him, and immediately the Duke of *Lorraine* dispatch'd a certain Person to one *John Dias* of the City of *Metz*, to know if he had pass'd through that Place in his Retreat, who

## 126 The SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

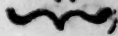
A. D. 1476. who sent his Highness Word the next Morning, that he had not; that he was not at *Luxembourg*; neither could any Body tell what was become of him. On *Monday*, which was *Twelfth-Day*, the Count *di Campobasso* met with a Page that was taken Prisoner, belonging to the Count *de Chalon*, who was with the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Battle. This Lad, upon Examination, confess'd the Duke of *Burgundy* was kill'd; and the next day upon diligent searching after him, they found him stript stark naked, and the Bodies of 14 Men more in the same Condition, at some distance from each other. The Duke was wounded in three Places, and his Body was known and distinguish'd from the rest by 6 particular Marks; the chiefest of which was, the want of his upper Teeth before, which were beaten out with a Fall; the second was a Scar in his Throat occasion'd by the Wound he receiv'd at the Battle of *Mont l'Hery*; the third was his great Nails, which he always wore longer than any of his Courtiers; the 4th was another Scar upon his left Shoulder; the 5th was a Fistula on his right Groin, and the last was a Nail that grew into his little Toe. And upon seeing all these above-mention'd Marks upon the Body, his Physician, the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, the Bastard of *Burgundy*, *M. Oliver de la Marche*, his Chaplain, and several other Officers that were taken Prisoners by the Duke of *Lorrain*, unanimously agreed it was the Body of their Lord and Master the Duke of *Burgundy*.

IMMEDIATELY after the Defeat and Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Duke of *Lorrain* and the rest of the Generals of the Army call'd a Council of War, the Result of which was, that a considerable Body of Forces should immediately

ately be sent into the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and other Provinces to reduce the Towns that were garison'd by *Burgundian* Troops, to the King's Obedience; which was put in Execution, and most of the Towns surrender'd without any Opposition, as did likewise the Country of *Auxerre*, the Subjects of which took the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

A. D.

1476.



IN *June* the Prince of *Orange*, who had been highly affronted by *M. de Craon*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Army in *Burgundy*, was resolv'd to be reveng'd on him and the King also, who it seems had taken the Government of a Province from him, and given it to *M. de Craon*; and therefore he persuades all the Countries, Cities, Towns, and other Places, which before had submitted to the King at his Request, to revolt and rise up in Rebellion against him. There was a *Burgundian* Knight nam'd *M. Claude de Vaudray*, that join'd with the Prince in this Undertaking, and manag'd the War with tolerable Success against *M. de Craon*. But at last *M. de Craon* having Intelligence that the Prince of *Orange* was in a little Town call'd *Guy*, march'd immediately and besieg'd it, and about 2 Days after he had invest'd it, he receiv'd Advice that *M. Chasteauguyon* was marching to relieve it, upon which he left a few Troops before the Town, to hinder the Garison from making any Sally, and with the rest of the Army advanc'd to meet *M. Chasteauguyon* the Prince of *Orange's* Brother, whom he entirely routed and defeated; and in this Action there were above 1400 Persons of Note and Distinction kill'd on both sides; and for this Victory the King order'd general Processions to be made in the Church of *St. Martin* in *Paris*.



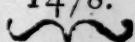
# 128 The SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

A. D. 1477. IN July, 1477 the Duke of *Gelders* with about 14 or 1500 *Germans* came and encamp'd at *Pont d'Epierre* near *Tournay*, with a Design to burn the Suburbs of that Place, upon which the Garison of *Tournay* made 2 Sallies; in the first the Duke himself was slain, and in the last the whole Body of the *Germans* and the *Flemings* were entirely defeated, 2000 of them kill'd upon the spot, and 700 taken Prisoners, for which the King order'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bone-fires to be made in the Streets of *Paris*.

ABOUT the same time, the King, who was in *Picardy*, left that Country; having first made the Bastard of *Bourbon*, (who was Admiral of *France*), his Lieutenant-General, with whom he left a good Body of Forces to secure the Country, and cover the Frontiers of his Kingdom. The King's Troops under the Bastard of *Bourbon*'s Command were quarter'd in *Arras*, *Tournay*, *la Bassée*, and in several other Towns upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*, and in those Countries that still held out for the Lady of *Flanders* Daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*.

A. D. 1478. IN May, 1478. All that the King did during this whole Month in *Picardy*, was only taking a little Town call'd *Conde*, which was still in the Hands of the *Burgundians*, and which stood very incommodious for the Garison of *Tournay*; for all the Convoys both of Provision and Ammunition must of course pass by it. There happen'd to be some *German* Troops belonging to the Duke of *Austria* in it, who at first seem'd resolv'd to stand a Siege, but when they saw the prodigious Army with which the King had invested it, they immediately surrender'd the Town upon honourable Terms, as they did also the Castle some time after.

ABOUT



ABOUT this time, the King, who was gone into *Picardy* with a Design to reduce all the Countries, Towns and Places that were in the Possession of the late Duke of *Burgundy* at his Decease, and which belong'd to his Majesty, had assembled the greatest Army, and provided the largest Train of Artillery that ever was seen in *France*. He forbore entring upon any Action for a long time, in hopes of accommodating Matters between him, the *Flemings*, and the Duke *Maximilian* of *Austria*, whom they acknowledged for their Sovereign, to facilitate which the Duke of *Austria* sends Ambassadors to *Cambray* and *Arras* to treat with the King about it, who talk'd mightily of Surrendering up to the King the Countries of *Artois*, *Bologne*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *St. Omers*, and other Towns, besides the whole Dutchy of *Burgundy*; and upon the bare Promises only of these Ambassadors the King imprudently delivers up *Cambray*, *Quesnoy*, *Bouchain*, and several other Towns. The Duke of *Austria* upon the Pretence of being near the King, and having the Conveniency of frequent Conferences, came and encamp'd with an Army of 20000 Men between *Doway* and *Arras*, where he amus'd the King with specious Words and fair Promises till the End of *June*; and then notwithstanding the King had so generously given up those Towns to him, he openly declar'd he would not stand to the Promises his Ambassadors had made in his Name, neither was that Affair brought to any Conclusion.

IN this Month the King had better Success in Upper *Burgundy*; whither his Majesty had sent a considerable Body of Forces under the Command of *M. d'Amboise* Governor of *Champagne* to recover some Troops that had revolted from him. *M. d'Amboise* was so fortunate, that

A. D. 1478. in 3 Weeks he re-took *Verdun*, *Monsauion* and *Semur* in *Auxois*, partly by Storm, and partly by Composition. Afterwards he besieg'd *Beaulne*, which also was surrendred to him upon certain Articles, the chief of which were, that the Inhabitants should pay 40000 *l.* to preserve the Town from being plundered; that they should discharge all their Debts that were owing to the Merchants of *Paris*, and of other Cities in the Kingdom, and that the Garison should be allowed to march out with their Bag and Baggage, and be conducted to such a Place mentioned in the Articles.

IN *July* the King, who was at *Arras*, received two extraordinary Embassies, one from *Maximilian* Duke of *Austria*, and another from the *Flemings*, and when the Ambassadors had been heard by the King and his Council, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon between the King, Duke *Maximilian* and the *Flemings* for one Year, during which Time there was to be a free Interchange of Trade between the Subjects of both Princes.

A. D. 1479. IN *April* 1479 the King, who was in the County of *Touraine*, began to make Preparations for the ensuing Campaign, being resolved to push on the War with Vigour as soon as the Cessation of Arms between him and the Duke of *Austria*, which was almost expired, was ended. Besides the Duke of *Austria* had sent no Ambassadors to him to treat of a Prolongation of the Truce, and therefore his Majesty might reasonably conclude that his Intentions were to renew the War as soon as the Treaty was expir'd.

IN *May* following (notwithstanding the Truce was not expired) the Inhabitants of *Cambray* treacherously admitted the *Flemings*, *Picardians*, and other Soldiers belonging to the Duke of *Austria's*



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*Austria's* Army, into their City, which his Majesty thought had been safe enough in the Hands of so vigilant and loyal a Governour as the Lord *de Fiennes*. As soon as the Duke of *Austria's* Forces were Masters of the Town, they drove the King's Garison out of the Castle, and immediately afterwards a Detachment of 3 or 400 *Flemings* and *Picardians* presented themselves before the Town and Castle of *Bouchain*, upon Intelligence that the Inhabitants would murder the King's Garison, and open their Gates to them, which accordingly they did upon their first Approach, and kill'd all the King's Soldiers except one Archer, who had the good Luck to escape. The King was extremely incensed and provoked at this unfair and treacherous manner of proceeding, seeing his Troops had not committed the least Act of Hostility, nor given them any Occasion or Pretence for violating the Truce, and therefore he immediately sends a considerable Body of the Nobles and frank Archers of the Kingdom, with a large Train of Artillery, under the Command of the Governor of *Champagne*, to reduce the Towns and Places in the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Franche-Comte* that had lately revolted from him, who was so very fortunate as to retake the strong Castle of *Rochefort* by Storm, which he plundered, and put all the Garison to the Sword. From thence the Governor of *Champagne*, who was also the King's Lieutenant-General, marched with his Army to *Dole*, which upon their refusing to surrender, he immediately attack'd, carried it by Storm, plundered it, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and raz'd the City to the Ground.

On *Saturday* the third of *July* 1479 the Bishop of *Lombes* Abbot of *St. Dennis* in *France*, arrived at *Paris* as Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, and was met and complimented without the City Gates by the Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Persons of Quality of that City, whom he afterwards nobly entertained at *St. Dennis*. About the same time a young Prince of the Kingdom of *Scotland* named the Duke of *Albany*, who had been driven out of the Kingdom by the King his Brother, arrived at *Paris*, where he was received with all the Marks of Honour

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1480.

and Civility imaginable, and treated and entertained at the King's Expence during his Stay in *France*.

In the Year 1480 the Lord *Howard* and several other Ambassadors from *England* arrived in *France*, to treat with the King about prolonging the Truce that was concluded between him and the King of *England*. The King received the Ambassadors very kindly, feasted and entertained them nobly, and made them considerable Presents when they left *France* in order to return into *England*.

During Winter, and even till *April* (at which time the Truce between the King and the *Flemings* was to expire) nothing was attempted on either side, for the *Flemings* had sent Ambassadors to the King at *Tours* to desire the Cessation of Arms might be continued a Year longer, to which his Majesty readily consented, in hopes some Expedient or another might be found in all that Time to settle an honourable and lasting Peace between him and them, which would put an End to a War that had already been the Occasion of spilling so much Christian Blood.

About the same time Ambassadors from *Edward IV.* King of *England* arrived in *France* to treat with the King about the Prolongation of the Truce, and his Majesty did them the Favour to meet them at *Chateau Regnault*, and as soon as they had dispatch'd the Affair which they were sent to negotiate with the King, they returned into *England*, and afterwards the Prolongation of the Truce between the two Kings was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet at *Paris*. Some time after this the King fell very ill at *Plessis du Parc* near *Tours*, and his Physicians were of opinion that his Majesty was in a dangerous Condition, but in a little time he grew better, and in less than a Month was perfectly recovered of his Illness.

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1481.

In the Year 1481, notwithstanding the Cessation of Arms, the King's Troops in the Garison Towns upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* committed several Hostilities, and had frequent Skirmishes with the Duke of *Austria's*, and all the Prisoners that were taken on both sides were immediately hang'd up, without permitting any, of what Degree or Rank soever, to be ransomed.

About

About the same time the King, who had been very ill at *Tours*, removed to *Tovars*, where his Majesty grew worse, and his Physicians were of opinion he was in a dangerous Condition, whereupon he made several large Offerings and Gifts to abundance of Churches in the Kingdom, in hopes to recover his Health by these pious Acts of Charity and Devotion. In his Sicknes he made a Vow to go a Pilgrimage to *St. Claude*, which he accordingly performed as soon as he had recovered Strength enough to undertake the Journey. Before he left the County of *Touraine* he went to see the *Dauphin*, whom he had scarce ever seen before, and when he took his Leave of him he gave him his Blessing, and having committed him to the Care and Tuition of the Lord *Peter de Bourbon*, whom he had made his Lieutenant-General, he commanded him to obey that Lord, and be ruled by him in every thing till his Return.

A. D.

1481.

In the Year 1482, on *Thursday* the 4th of *May*, between 4 and 5 in the Morning, died the most noble and illustrious Princess *Joan of France*, Wife to *John Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne*, in the Castle of *Molins* in *Bourbonnois* of a violent Fever, and was buried in the Church of *Nostre Dame* at *Molins*. She was a Lady of great Wisdom and Piety, and was extremely lamented by the Duke her Husband, her Servants, and all the People of *France*, upon account of the many extraordinary Vertues and amiable Perfections she was endowed with.

A. D.

1482.

In the same Year about *October* the King fell violently ill, and thought he should have died at *Plessis du Parc* near *Tours*, and therefore as soon as his Majesty had recovered a little Strength he went to *Amboise*, where he made several long Remonstrances to the *Dauphin* in behalf of his Servants and Officers of his Household and Kingdom, exhorting and desiring him to be kind to all of them, but especially to *Monsieur Oliver* his Barber, and *M. John de Doyac* Governor of *Auvergne*, who had done him many considerable Services, and always been very loyal and faithful Subjects. He also recommended the Lord *de Bouchage* and the Lord *Guyotpot* Bailiff of *Vermendois*, as being very wise and able Counsellors, and desired the *Dauphin*



A. D.

1483.



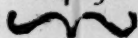
*phin* to make use of their Advice in all State Affairs. Moreover, he intreated him to continue all the Officers in their Posts and Employments, and to have a tender Regard to his People, whom he had already too much harrassed and oppressed. Lastly, he recommended the Lord *des Querdes* for Military Affairs, as being an Officer of great Valour and Conduct, and the fittest Person to make a General of any in the Kingdom of *France*. After this the King returned to *Montils* near *Tours*.

In *October* and *November* several Ambassadors arrived from *Flanders* to treat of a Peace between his Majesty and the *Flemings*, which at last was concluded to the great Joy and Satisfaction of both Parties, by a Marriage between the *Dauphin* of *France* and the Duke of *Austria's* Daughter, upon which the King immediately ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be made in the publick Streets of *Tours*.

In *January* the Ambassadors that had concluded the Peace between the King and the *Flemings* upon the Marriage between the *Dauphin* and the Countess of *Flanders*, Daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, arrived at *Paris*, and were met and complimented in the King's Name by the Bishop of *Marseilles*, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and several other Persons of Quality, who nobly feasted and entertained them, and the next Day they set out from thence to wait on the King at *Amboise*, who received them very kindly, as did also the *Dauphin*; and upon their taking Leave of the King, his Majesty presented them with 30000 Crowns, and afterwards they returned to *Paris*, where the Articles of Peace were ratified and confirmed in the Court of Parliament, and afterwards read, and published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of that City; and as soon as the Publication was over, Monsieur *le Picard* Bailiff of *Roan* treated the Ambassadors and all the King's Officers with a splendid and magnificent Dinner.

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1483.



On *Saturday* the 19th of *April* 1483 the Lord *de Beaujeu* and his Lady came to *Paris*, in order to go into *Picardy* to meet and compliment the *Dauphiness*, whom by the Treaty of Peace the *Flemings* were to

de-

deliver to the Lord *de Beaujeu*, who was to conduct her to *Paris*.

A. D.

1483.

In *April* *Edward IV.* King of *England* died of an Apoplexy, tho' some say it was of a Surfeit, occasioned by drinking too much of some rich Wines that the King had made him a Present of; however he lived long enough to settle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and to leave the Succession of the Crown to his eldest Son *Edward V.*

On *Monday* the second of *June* the Dauphiness, accompanied by *Madam de Beaujeu*, the Admiral of *France's* Lady, and several other Ladies of Quality, made her publick Entry into *Paris* about five in the Afternoon, and all the Streets thro' which the Dauphiness passed were lined with Soldiers, hung with Tapestry, and crouded with Persons of Quality richly dressed, who came thither on purpose to compliment and pay their Respects to her; and in honour to the Day of her Arrival, all the Prisoners in *Paris* were immediately set at Liberty.

In *July* the Nuptial Ceremony between the Dauphin and the Lady *Margaret* of *Austria* was performed with great Pomp and Solemnity at *Amboise*, at which all the Nobility and chief Persons of the Kingdom were present.

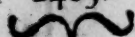
On *Monday* the 25th of *August* the King fell very ill at *Montils* near *Tours*, and in two Hours time lost his Speech and his Senses, and the News of his Death came to *Paris* on *Wednesday* the 27th of the same Month, upon which the Mayor and Aldermen ordered the City Gates to be shut up, and a strong Guard to be placed at each of them, that none might go out or in without being examined, which made the common People cry out that the King was dead; but it was a false Alarm, for his Majesty was only in a Fit, out of which he presently recovered, and liv'd till *Saturday* the 30th of *August*, and then died about 6 or 7 in the Evening of the same Day.

As soon as he was dead his Body was embalm'd, and buried in the Church of *Nostre Dame de Clery* at *Montils*, having in his Life-time ordered it should be so, and positively commanded the *Dauphin* not to bury him in the Church of *St. Dennis*, where 3 Kings

of

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of *France* (his illustrious Predecessors) were interr'd. He never gave any reason for it, but some People were of opinion it was for the sake of the Church, which he had liberally endow'd, and out of a singular Veneration for the blessed Virgin, who was worshipped there after a more solemn manner than in any other Place in the Kingdom. The King had during his whole Reign, by the evil Advice of M. *Oliver* his Barber, M. *John de Doyac*, and several other wicked Counsellors that were about his Person, committed great Injustice in his Kingdom, and so miserably oppressed and harrassed his People, that the very Reflection of his tyrannical Usage of them stung him to the Heart, and almost drove him to Despair, so that when he lay upon his Death-bed he sincerely repented of all his Sins, and gave prodigious Sums of Money to the Clergy to pray for his Soul, and rewarded them for their Prayers with what he had by Violence and Extortion gotten of his Subjects. It must be own'd that his was a very busy Reign, and full of many great and important Actions, yet he managed his Affairs so well, that he forced all his Enemies to submit to his Mercy, and was equally dreaded both Abroad and at Home. He lay for a long time before his Death under very sharp and severe Illnesses, which forced his Physicians to make use of violent and painful Applications, which tho' they were not so successful as to recover his Health and save his Life, yet doubtless they were very beneficial to his Soul, and perhaps the chief Means of saving it from eternal Damnation, and fixing it in Paradise, thro' his tender Mercy who liveth and reigneth World without end. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

